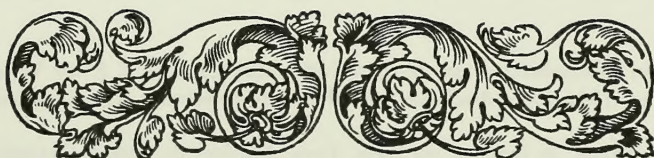# IMAGO MUSICAE

V

1988

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Annuaire International d'Iconographie Musicale

IMAGO MUSICAE
V

1988

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TILMAN SEEBASS
adiuvante
Tilden Russell

The illustration on the half-title page is taken from the woodcut ›Fraw Musica‹ by Lukas Cranach the Younger for the publisher Georg Rhau in Wittenberg, ca. 1544–1556. The vignette also comes from Rhau's shop.

Titelvignette nach dem Holzschnitt ›Fraw Musica‹ von Lukas Cranach d. J. für Verlagswerke des Georg Rhau in Wittenberg, ca. 1544–1556. Auch die Schlußvignette entstammt Rhaus Offizin.

La vignette du titre d'après la gravure sur bois ›Fraw Musica‹ de Lukas Cranach le Jeune pour les publications de Georg Rhau à Wittenberg, environ 1544–1556. La vignette à la fin provient de même de l'imprimerie de Rhau.

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The Filiation of the Music Illustrations
in a Boethius in Milan and in the Piacenza ›Codice magno‹

Elizabeth C. Teviotdale*

List of Illustrations

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* * *

The close iconographic relationship between the music illustrations in Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, ms. C 128 inf. and those in Piacenza, Biblioteca Capitolare, ms. 65 has been noted by musicologists, most recently by Joseph Smits van Waesberghe and by Tilman Seebass. Smits van Waesberghe offered the observation that the illustrations of the Milan and Piacenza manuscripts are of the same subject[1]. Seebass maintained that the illustrations must revert to the same prototype, without, however, identifying that prototype[2]. I intend here to demonstrate that they indeed do revert to a common prototype and that the prototype was most probably an illustrated manuscript of Cassiodorus's ›Institutiones‹.

Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, ms. C 128 inf., a manuscript of 94 folios (330 × 230 mm.), contains the texts of Boethius's ›De arithmetica‹ (fols. 1ʳ–45ʳ) and ›De musica‹ (fols. 47ʳ–94ᵛ) with glosses[3]. Its date and place of origin are problematic[4]. We know only that the codex has been in the Ambrosiana since its foundation by Cardinal Federico Borromeo in 1609[5]. There is good

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* A seminal version of this article was presented in a paper at the South-Central Chapter meeting of the American Musicological Society, Clarksville/Tennessee, 15–16 April 1983.

1 Joseph Smits van Waesberghe, Musikerziehung. Lehre und Theorie der Musik im Mittelalter (Leipzig 1969), p. 156 (= Musikgeschichte in Bildern, vol. 3, fasc. 3).

2 Tilman Seebass, Musikdarstellung und Psalterillustration im früheren Mittelalter, vol. 1 (Bern 1973), p. 184.

3 Antonio Ceruti, Inventario Ceruti dei manoscritti della Biblioteca Ambrosiana, vol. 1 (Milan 1973), p. 265 (= Fontes ambrosiani, 50). This is a publication of the manuscript catalog compiled during the second half of the nineteenth century.

4 The following have been suggested: 7th–8th centuries (?), Ireland (Renata Cipriani, Codici miniati dell'Ambrosiana [Venice 1968], p. 188 [= Fontes ambrosiani, 40]); 10th century, probably Bobbio (Gaetano Cesari, ›Tre tavole di strumenti in un »Boezio« del X secolo‹, in: Studien zur Musikgeschichte. Festschrift für Guido Adler zum 75. Geburtstag [Vienna 1930], p. 26, and Smits van Waesberghe [footnote 1], p. 156); (10th)–12th centuries, Italy (?) (Seebass [footnote 2], p. 179); 10th century (Ceruti [footnote 3], p. 265); 12th century (Maria Luisa Gengaro and Gemma Villa Guglielmetti, Inventario dei codici decorati e miniati (sec. VII–XIII) della Biblioteca Ambrosiana [Florence 1968], p. 53 f. [= Storia della miniatura, 3], and Maria Luisa Gengaro and Luisa Cogliati Arano, Miniature lombarde: codici miniati dall' VIII al XIV secolo [Milan 1970], figs. 11 and 12); 10th–12th centuries (Paul Oskar Kristeller, Iter Italicum, vol. 1 [London 1963], p. 281, and Michael Masi, ›Manuscripts Containing the De Musica of Boethius‹, in: Manuscripta 15 [1971], p. 92).

5 Ceruti (footnote 3), p. 265. Cardinal Borromeo probably did not acquire the manuscript from the library of the Benedictine monastery of San Colombano at Bobbio. To be sure, he purchased 77 codices from that collection at the time he founded the Ambrosiana, but this manuscript was probably not one of them. Ceruti's catalog entries for

reason to believe that it dates from the eleventh century[6]. Its decoration includes a full-page interlace initial (fol. 1[r]), several smaller interlace initials (fols. 3[r], 17[r], 47[v], 59[v], 69[v], 83[r]), and the music illustrations (fols. 45[v], 46[r], 46[v]; *figs. 1–3*), as well as the many diagrams associated with the ›De arithmetica‹ and ›De musica‹ texts. The illustrations follow directly the section of diagrams that concludes the ›De arithmetica‹ and they complete the gathering in which they appear; that is to say, the illustrations fill up the last gathering of the ›De arithmetica‹. The ›De musica‹ begins on fol. 47, which inaugurates a new gathering[7]. The illustrations may well have been executed by the person responsible for the diagrams. The technique employed (scribe's inks applied with quill and ink wash) would have been accessible to any scribe and is not the particular province of the trained artist. Furthermore, the unrefined quality of the illustrations supports the hypothesis that their copyist was not someone who specialized in illustrations.

Piacenza, Biblioteca Capitolare, ms. 65 is a manuscript of 450 folios (480 × 340 mm.). It contains a calendar, a psalter, a troper, assorted theoretical texts on music, and a tonary. Called the ›Codice magno‹, it was made for the Piacenza cathedral, presumably in Piacenza. Work on this large codex began about the time construction on the cathedral was started in 1122 and was finished by 1142 when the first obituary was added to the calendar[8]. Several textual hands were involved in the production of the manuscript. Certainly more than one artistic hand contributed to the decoration which includes decorated and historiated initials, marginal illustrations, larger illustrations of scenes from the lives of Christ, the Virgin, and saints, and the music illustrations (fols. 262[r], 262[v]; *figs. 4 and 5*), which are the largest in the manuscript. The music illustrations introduce the series of music texts. The opening of Cassiodorus's ›De musica‹ (that is, Book II, Chapter 5, of his ›Institutiones‹) appears in the left column of fol. 262[r][9].

The illustrations in both manuscripts present instrumentalists divided into three groups according to the type of instrument they play as follows: percussionalia, tensibilia, and inflatilia. In the Milan Boethius, the division is effected by separating each group onto a different page: percussionalia on fol. 45[v], tensibilia on fol. 46[r], and inflatilia on fol. 46[v][10]. Each group includes one instrumentalist that has been added by a later hand[11]. These added figures are not integral to the iconography of the illustrations and apparently were added by someone who did not understand the division, for he has included a fiddler, labeled »Nicolo da la uiola fiorentino«, among the percussionists. Even apart from the added figures, the illustrations are remarkably

manuscripts from the Bobbio library include an indication of that provenance. With regard to ms. C 128 inf., Ceruti reported only that the manuscript had been in the Ambrosiana since its foundation. See further Annuario delle biblioteche italiane, vol. 2 (Rome 1971), pp. 254–257.

6 Calvin Bower hypothesizes a date around 1000, relying on the evidence of the glosses, the parchment, and the ink (private conversation). I am grateful to Professor Bower for sharing his thoughts on the Milan Boethius with me.

7 The collation is 1–5[8], 6[6], 7–12[8], the ternion being the final gathering of the ›De arithmetica‹ where the illustrations are found. Fol. 45 is ruled conforming to the usual scheme for the rest of the manuscript (32 lines). Fol. 46 is not ruled and is attached to a tab. It may have been cut out and then reattached in the same place, as the narrow inner margin would suggest. The parchment of this folio is rather thin and it may have been remounted because of weakness. Or, the unruled folio may have been substituted for a ruled one when it was decided to include the illustrations.

8 Arturo Quintavalle, Miniatura a Piacenza. I codici dell'Archivio Capitolare (Venice 1963), pp. 99–114 (= Raccolta Pisana di Saggi e Studi, 10). See Pieter Fischer (ed.), The Theory of Music from the Carolingian Era up to 1400, vol. 2 (Munich 1968), pp. 79–81 (= Répertoire International des Sources Musicales, B III 2), for a description of the contents of the manuscript. Fischer mistakenly takes the first added obituary date as a *terminus post quem* rather than as a *terminus ante quem*. Smits van Waesberghe (footnote 1, p. 156) suggests »probably Bobbio« as the place of origin.

9 »Gaudentius quidam de musica scribens [...] suavis nimis et grata modulatio« (Cassiodorus Senator, Institutiones, ed. by R. A. B. Mynors [Oxford 1937], pp. 142 f.).

10 The instrumentarium has been described by Gengaro and Guglielmetti (footnote 4), pp. 53 f., and by Seebass (footnote 2), p. 179. Seebass has also discussed the tensibilia and inflatilia illustrations in greater detail in ›Prospettive dell'iconografia musicale: Considerazioni di un medievalista‹, in: Rivista italiana di musicologia 18 (1983), pp. 75 f.

11 The added figures are stylistically distinct, generally smaller, and drawn with inks of different color.
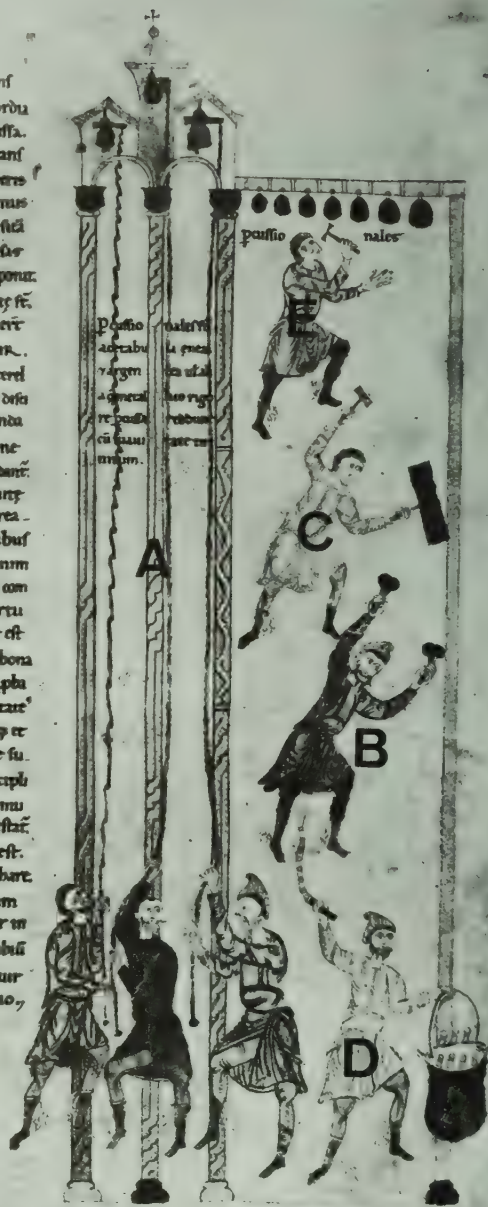
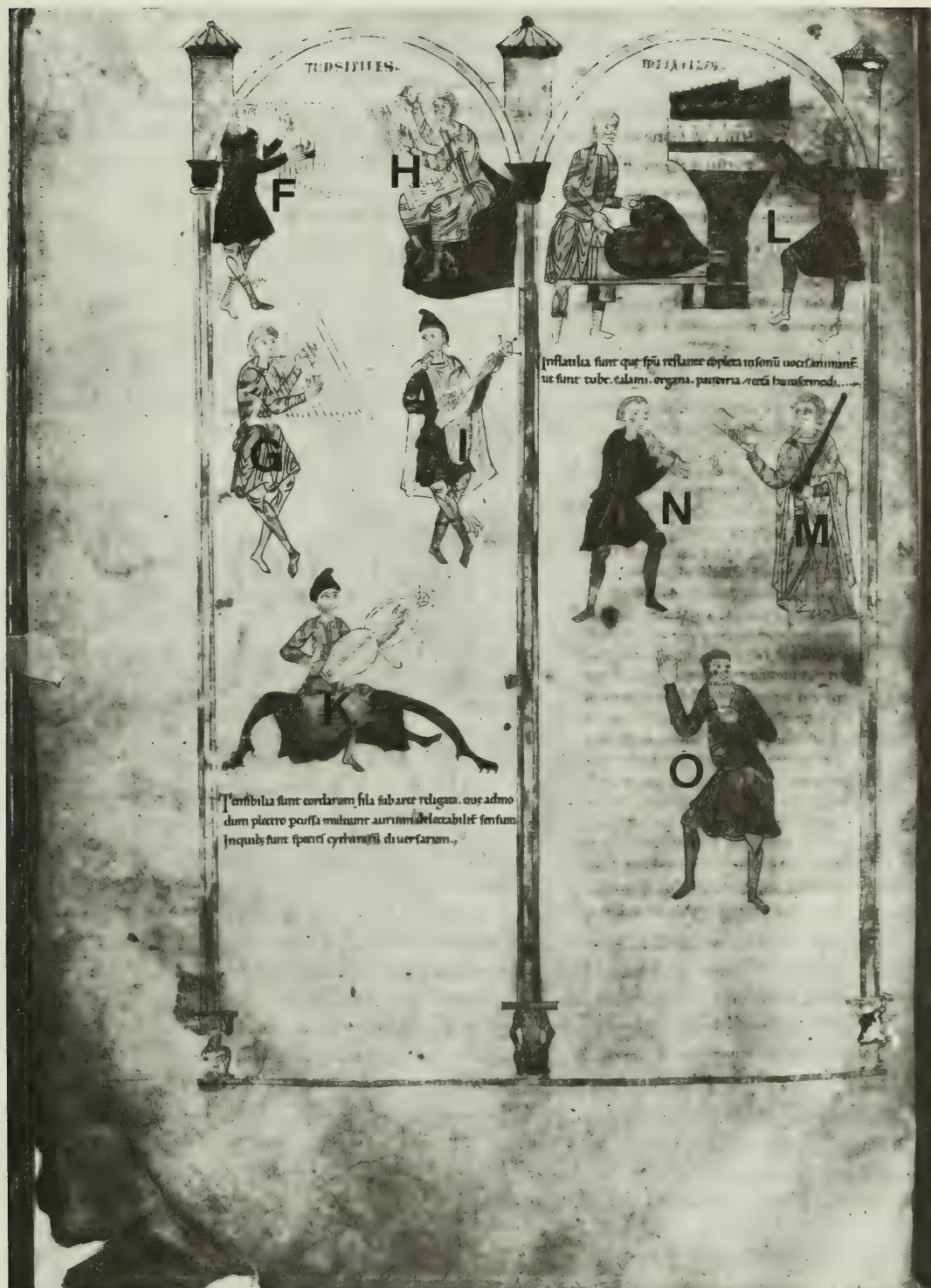Fig. 1

Fig. 2

Fig. 3

Fig. 4

Fig. 5

inconsistent. No ambiance or architectural frame is provided for any of the groups and there is a disparity in scale among the figures of a single illustration. Also, there are two elements whose appearance is inconsistent with the iconography as I have described it. A tree or branch with three birds is included on fol. 46ʳ and an enthroned king with his right arm raised appears on fol. 46ᵛ. I shall return to these later. In the Piacenza ›Codice magno‹, the instrumentalists are divided into three groups by an architectural framework and by the inclusion of inscriptions taken from Cassiodorus[12]:

fol. 262ʳ:
»percussionales / Percussionales sunt / acitabula aenea / & argentea uel ali/a quae metallico rigo/re percussa reddunt / cum suauitate tin/nitum«
fol. 262ᵛ, left:
»TENSIBILES / Tensibilia sunt cordarum fila sub arte religata. quae admo/dum plectro percussa multiunt aurium delictabiliter sensum. / In quibus sunt species cythararum diversarum.«
fol. 262ᵛ, right:
»INFLATILES / Inflatilia sunt quae spiritu reflante completa in sonum uocis animantur. / ut sunt tubae. calami. organa. pandiria & cetera huiuscemodi.«

There is a close correspondence between the instruments pictured in the Milan manuscript and those pictured in the Piacenza ›Codice magno‹. Both manuscripts include among the percussion-alia tower bells (A), metal castanets (B), a semanterion (C), and a vessel hit with a stick (D) (see *figs. 1* and *4*). The illustration in the Piacenza manuscript also includes bell chimes (E). Both manuscripts include among the tensibilia three lyre-harp types of different shapes (F, G, H) and two necked chordophones (I, K) (see *figs. 2* and *4*). Both include among the inflatilia a positif organ (L), a curved horn (M), a double wind instrument (N), and pan pipes (O) (see *figs. 3* and *5*). In the Piacenza manuscript, the curved horn player has been given a second, cylindrical horn which he holds in his left hand[13]. In addition to the general similarity between the instruments depicted, other features contribute to the close resemblance between the groups of illustrations. For the most part, the poses of the players as well as the instruments correspond between the manuscripts. For example, three tower bells are included in both percussionalia illustrations even though only two players are depicted in the Milan manuscript. In the tensibilia illustrations, of the three lyre-harp players, two stand (F, G), one of whom plays a three-sided instrument (G), while the third is seated on a throne in three-quarter view (H). The pose of the pan pipes player (O) in one manuscript is a mirror image of that in the other. The left hand of the curved horn player (M) is held in the same attitude in the two manuscripts even though he carries the second horn only in the Piacenza codex. The dress of the instrumentalists is nearly alike between the manuscripts. Most of them wear short tunics while the curved horn player (M) in both manuscripts and the seated plucked string player (H) in the Piacenza manuscript wear longer robes. Furthermore, the enthroned king pictured among the wind players in the Milan Boethius finds a pendant in the Piacenza ›Codice magno‹. On fol. 264ᵛ, an enthroned king with right arm raised is pictured at the introduction of the first tone of the tonary (*fig. 6*)[14]. The pervasiveness of agreement in iconography and in the pose and dress of the figures between the illustrations of the Milan and Piacenza codices points to a close relationship between them; one may have been copied from the other or they may have been copied from the same or closely related prototypes.

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12 The instrumentarium has been described by Smits van Waesberghe (footnote 1), p. 156, and by Seebass (footnote 2), p. 184.
13 I have chosen general rather than specific terminology for describing the instruments depicted because I believe it appropriate to the illustrations themselves and in order to ensure reasonable accuracy.
14 This figure probably ultimately derives from a David type. See Seebass (footnote 2), p. 184.
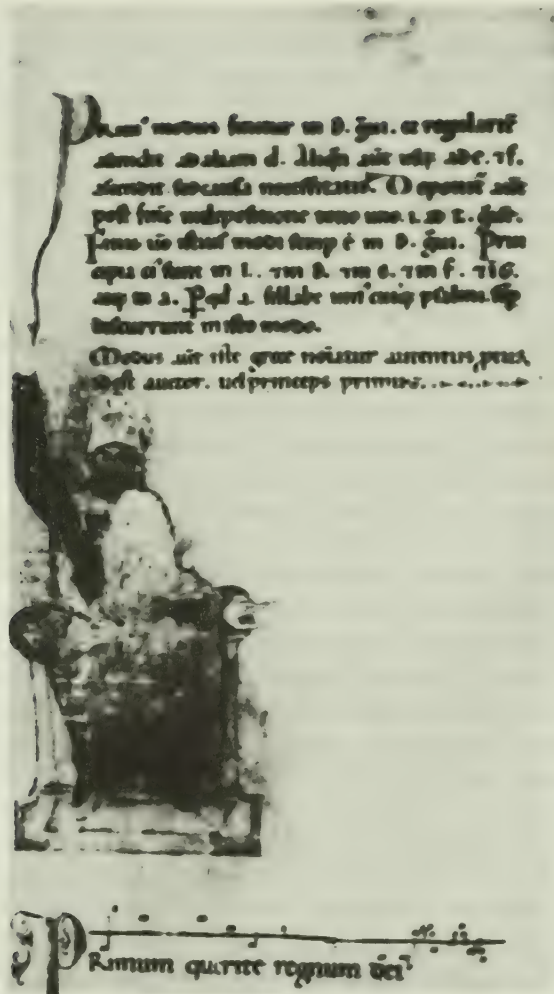
Fig. 6

The relevant texts of Boethius and Cassiodorus and their relationship to the illustrations provide evidence for the filiation of the illustrations. The passage in which Boethius considers musical instruments appears in ›De musica‹, Book I, Chapter 2:

> »Tertia est musica, quae in quibusdam consistere dicitur instrumentis. Haec vero administratur, aut intentione, ut nervis, aut spiritu ut tibiis, vel his, quae ad aquam moventur, aut percussione quadam, ut in his, quae in concava quaedam aerea feriuntur, atque inde diversi efficiuntur soni.«[15]

Cassiodorus's ›Institutiones‹ comprises two books, the second of which is a consideration of the liberal arts. Cassiodorus describes the division of musical instruments into three groups in Chapter 5 of that second book. The passage is virtually identical to the text of the inscriptions for the Piacenza illustrations:

15 Anicius Manlius Torquatus Severinus Boetius, De institutione musica, ed. by G. Friedlein (Leipzig 1867), p. 189. This passage and the corresponding passage from Cassiodorus are discussed by Ellen Hickmann in her survey of texts describing musical instruments in the Middle Ages: Ellen Hickmann, Musica instrumentalis. Studien zur Klassifikation des Musikinstrumentariums im Mittelalter (Baden-Baden 1971), pp. 35–40 (= Collection d'études musicologiques/Sammlung musikwissenschaftlicher Abhandlungen, 55).

»Instrumentorum musicorum genera sunt tria: percussionalia – tensibilia – inflatilia. percussionalia sunt acitabula aenea et argentea, vel alia quae metallico rigore percussa reddunt cum suavitate tinnitum. tensibilia sunt cordarum fila sub arte religata, quae ammoto plectro percussa mulcient aurium delectabiliter sensum, in quibus sunt species cythararum diversarum. inflatilia sunt quae spiritu reflante completa in sonum vocis animantur, ut sunt tubae, calami, organa, pandoria et cetera huiuscemodi.«[16]

The similarity between these passages from Boethius's and Cassiodorus's treatises is apparent. That similarity is only superficial, however, and there are distinctions between them both in scope and in detail. Cassiodorus divides musical instruments into three types and names each of those types while Boethius only implies the division by mentioning three ways by which sound may be produced by instruments. Cassiodorus describes the processes by which sound is produced for each type of instrument. Boethius, on the other hand, provides a less comprehensive explanation of how sound may be produced by instruments. For example, in discussing stringed instruments, Cassiodorus states that they »sunt cordarum fila sub arte religata, quae ammoto plectro percussa mulcient aurium delectabiliter sensum«. Boethius does not provide this mental picture of the method of playing; rather, he gives only the most cursory explanation, that the principle for this sort of instrument is tension, as in strings. When Boethius does describe a playing process, it is of a more limited application than that described by Cassiodorus. For example, Boethius says of wind instruments that they include »his quae ad aquam moventur«, his description of the playing process being limitedly applicable to the wind instrument that is activated by water, the hydraulic organ. Even as far as he alludes to a process here, he does not describe the production of sound in the hydraulic organ which is achieved by the passage of air through a pipe. On the other hand, Cassiodorus's description of the method of sound production in wind instruments is broader in its application: »inflatilia sunt quae spiritu reflante completa in sonum vocis animantur«. Cassiodorus provides at least one example of an instrument that falls into each of the three categories. Boethius is not consistent in providing examples. He gives one example each for the winds and percussion but does not give an example for the strings[17]. In general, therefore, Cassiodorus is both more specific and more comprehensive in his description of the three categories of musical instruments.

The differences between these passages as described above make clear that Cassiodorus's text is more closely related to the illustrations than is Boethius's. In both manuscripts, the groups of instrumentalists appear in the order in which they are described by Cassiodorus (that is, percussionalia, tensibilia, inflatilia) rather than in the order in which Boethius discusses them (that is, tensibilia, inflatilia, percussionalia). Furthermore, while the illustrations do not conform to the Cassiodorus text in every detail, they are compatible with his description. The acitabula are pictured in figure E of the Piacenza codex[18]. The »alia quae metallico rigore percussa reddunt cum suavitate tinnitum« are found in the tower bells (A). The various stringed instruments correspond to the instruments »quae ammoto plectro percussa mulcient aurium delectabiliter sensum«. The various kinds of cytharae (by which Cassiodorus does not mean the ancient cythara) are found in figures F, G, and H[19]. The tuba is pictured in figure M, the calamus in figure

16 Cassiodorus Senator (footnote 9), p. 114. See further Sister M. G. Ennis, The Vocabulary of the Institutiones of Cassiodorus (Washington 1939), pp. 112–131 (= The Catholic University of America, Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Latin, 9).
17 Seebass (footnote 10), p. 75.
18 Acitabula are not often mentioned during the Middle Ages. Presumably, they are some sort of little bells. See Giampiero Tintori, Gli strumenti musicali (Torino 1971), pp. 561 f.
19 Cassiodorus presumably uses the term cythara generically to designate plucked strings of the lyre-harp type, perhaps also of the lute type, for he writes, »species cythararum diversarum«. Isidore of Seville, writing almost a century after

N, the organ in figure L, and the pandoria (by which Cassiodorus means panpipes rather than lutes) in figure O[20]. Only the absence of the acitabula from the Milan codex makes Cassiodorus's text incompatible with that illustration. While the pictured instrumentarium includes instruments not specifically cited by Cassiodorus, it presents a variety of instruments much in the spirit of Cassiodorus's description. Admittedly, the application of organological terminology in the Middle Ages and the specific nature of the pictured instruments are difficult to determine with exactitude. Nevertheless, even by conservative estimates, the correspondence between the depicted instrumentarium and Cassiodorus's text is striking.

The illustrations of the Milan Boethius and the Piacenza ›Codice magno‹ do not bear so close a resemblance to Boethius's text. The very sketchiness of Boethius's discussion as described above makes the comparison between his text and the illustrations more difficult and perhaps less conclusive than that between Cassiodorus's text and the illustrations[21]. The instruments »quae in concava quaedam virga aerea feriuntur, atque inde diversi efficiuntur« are found in the tower bells (A), the vessel (D), and the bell chimes of the Piacenza codex (E), and the tibia is pictured in figure N[22]. The illustrations do include a positif organ activated by bellows, but clearly do not include the hydraulic organ suggested by Boethius's text[23]. Since Boethius describes or names so few instruments, this omission is truly remarkable.

The evidence of the inflatilia illustration particularly points to a closer affinity between Cassiodorus's text and the illustrations than between Boethius's text and the illustrations. I propose that the illustrations in the Milan and Piacenza codices are derived from a set that originally accompanied the Cassiodorus text. If there was a prototype for the illustrations of these manuscripts that accompanied the Cassiodorus text, and I believe there was, then it is unlikely that the illustrations in the Piacenza ›Codice magno‹ would have been copied from the Milan Boethius. Rather, the Piacenza illustrations would have been copied from a manuscript

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Cassiodorus and relying in part on him, describes the various types of cytharae in giving a history of the instrument: »Forma citharae initio similis fuisse traditur pectori humano, quo uti vox et pectore, ita ex ipsa cantus ederetur, appellatamque eadem de causa. Nam pectus Dorica lingua ´ vocari. Paulatim autem plures eius species extiterunt, ut psalteria, lyrae, barbitae, phoenices et pectides, et quae dicuntur Indicae, et feriuntur a duobus simul. Item aliae atque aliae, et quadrata forma vel trigonali. Chordarum etiam numerus multiplicatus, et conmutatum genus« (Isidorus Hispalensis Episcopus, Etymologiarum sive originum, 2 vols., ed. by W. M. Lindsay [Oxford 1911], Lib. III, xxii). In the Piacenza codex, figure K plays with a bow.

20 The term calami (plural) was sometimes used for panpipes but it was also used more generically for various aerophones. It seems to me inescapable that Cassiodorus means panpipes by pandoria and so must have something else in mind for calami. The instrument pictured in figure N is surely better described as tibia, but calamus or calami are also possible. Since calami is surrounded by plural terms (tubae and organa), Cassiodorus probably has in mind single rather than double pipes. It is possible that the artist conceived of the tibia as a kind of calamus. See James W. McKinnon, ›Tuba‹, in: The New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments, ed. by Stanley Sadie, vol. 3 (London 1984), pp. 668 f.; Robert Anderson, ›Kalamos‹, in: The New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments, vol. 2 (London 1984), p. 350; James W. McKinnon, ›Pandoura‹, in: The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, ed. by Stanley Sadie, vol. 14 (London 1980), p. 154.

21 Seebass has already remarked that the artist of the Milan illustrations cannot possibly have relied solely on Boethius's text (footnote 10, p. 76).

22 See James W. McKinnon and Robert Anderson, ›Tibia‹, in: The New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments, vol. 3 (London 1984), pp. 581 f.

23 Seebass has identified the tree or branch with three birds on fol. 46ʳ as a bird organ (footnote 10, p. 76). If this motif were intended to be a bird organ, however, then it was included in the wrong group (as Seebass concedes). We have very little evidence as to the appearance of the medieval bird organ and it seems to me unlikely that this is intended to represent one. If it were intended to represent a musical instrument, it would be the only one (of the original illustration) included on the wrong page, and, more importantly, it would be the only instrument without a player, a situation we would not expect given the inclusion of both keyboardist and bellows operator for the positif organ (L). See further Alexandr Buchner, ›Bird Instruments‹, in: The New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments, vol. 1, pp. 232 f.

containing Cassiodorus's text, either the prototype for the Milan illustrations or a closely related manuscript. That is to say, the illustrations in the Milan Boethius and in the Piacenza ›Codice magno‹ were copied from the same or closely related prototype(s), that prototype containing at least Book II, Chapter 5, of the ›Institutiones‹.

Indeed, there was a tradition of decorated manuscripts of Cassiodorus's ›Institutiones‹ antedating the Milan codex. There is no evidence, on the other hand, for a tradition of illustrated Boethius manuscripts[24]. Five extant manuscripts containing Cassiodorus's discussion of the liberal arts – Book II of the ›Institutiones‹ – include decoration; they date from the last quarter of the eighth to the ninth century[25]:

Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Hs. HJ. IV. 15 (Patr. 61)[26] [= B]

Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, ms. 660[27] [= P]

St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Hs. 855[28] [= S]

London, British Library, Ms. Harley 2637[29] [= L]

Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Augiensis CCXLI[30] [= K]

The decoration of these manuscripts consists mainly in the ornamentation of schemata that are the result of the system of divisions and subdivisions that Cassiodorus employs in his treatment of the liberal arts[31]. The divisions were not written as continuous text but as geneological trees.

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24 Of the four manuscripts that Smits van Waesberghe describes as »illustrating the *Musica* of Boethius« three do not contain Boethius's text and one includes illustrations not for Boethius but for Isidore (Cymbala: Bells in the Middle Ages [Rome 1951], p. 12, footnote 5 [= AIM Studies and Documents, 1]). Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale, ms. 10078/95; Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica, ms. Reg. lat. 1553; and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. lat. 7211 do not contain any Boethius (see Joseph Smits van Waesberghe [ed.], The Theory of Music from the Carolingian Era up to 1400, vol. 1 [Munich 1961], pp. 55–57 [= Répertoire International des Sources Musicales, B III 1], Fischer [footnote 8], p. 117, and Smits van Waesberghe [footnote 24], pp. 101–105). München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14523 does contain Boethius's ›De musica‹ in the 10th-century portion of the manuscript. It begins on fol. 52ᵛ. The pictures of musical instruments appear on fols. 51ʳ, 51ᵛ, 52ʳ and are clearly intended to accompany the preceding text taken from Isidore of Seville (see Michel Huglo and Christian Meyer [eds.], The Theory of Music, vol. 3: Manuscripts from the Carolingian Era up to c. 1500 in the Federal Republic of Germany [Munich 1986], pp. 113–116 [= Répertoire International des Sources Musicales, B III 3], and Catalogus codicum latinorum bibliothecae regiae monacensis, vol. 2, part 2 [Munich 1886; repr. Wiesbaden 1968], pp. 186f. [= Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum bibliothecae regiae monacensis, vol. 4, part 2]).

25 There are also two illustrated manuscripts of Book I alone: Kassel, Gesamthochschul-Bibliothek/Landesbibliothek und Murhardsche Bibliothek, Hs. theo. fol. 29, and Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M. p. th. f. 29 (= Dombibliothek 63). See the introduction to Mynors's edition of the ›Institutiones‹ (footnote 9, p. xiv); Hans Thurn, Die Pergamenthandschriften der ehemaligen Dombibliothek (Wiesbaden 1984), pp. 21f. (= Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Würzburg, 3/1); and Pierre Courcelle, ›Le site du monastère de Cassiodore‹, in: Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire 55 (1938), pp. 259–307.

26 Written in the last quarter of the eighth century in a Beneventan scriptorium. See E. A. Lowe, The Beneventan Script: A History of the South Italian Minuscule, ed. by Virginia Brown, vol. 2 (Rome ²1980), p. 14 (= Sussidi eruditi, 34).

27 Copied at Nonantola (or another Italian center) in the ninth century. See E. K. Rand, ›The New Cassiodorus‹, in: Speculum 13 (1938), pp. 433–447, and Bernhard Bischoff, ›Manoscritti Nonantolani dispersi dell'epoca Carolingia‹, in: La bibliofilia 85 (1983), pp. 99–124. Both articles include a number of reproductions from the manuscript.

28 Probably ninth century. See Gustav Scherrer, Verzeichnis der Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek von St. Gallen (Halle 1875; repr. Hildesheim 1975), pp. 289–291. I am grateful to Karen Corsano who generously answered my questions concerning this manuscript.

29 Probably written in France in the late ninth century. See Paul Lehmann, ›Mitteilungen aus Handschriften II‹, in: Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften: Philosophisch-historische Abteilung 1930 (Munich 1930), pp. 21f.

30 Probably copied directly from Harley 2637 in the ninth century. See Alfred Holder, Die Reichenauer Handschriften, vol. 1, Die Pergamenthandschriften (repr. with bibliographic additions Wiesbaden 1970), pp. 545–548 (= Die Handschriften der badischen Landesbibliothek in Karlsruhe, 5).

31 A page from the Bamberg codex is reproduced in Karl Michael Komma, Musikgeschichte in Bildern (Stuttgart 1961), fig. 44 and an opening from the London manuscript is reproduced in Smits van Waesberghe (footnote 1), fig. 89.

For example, in the passage on musical instruments cited above, the text appears in the decorated sources as[32]:
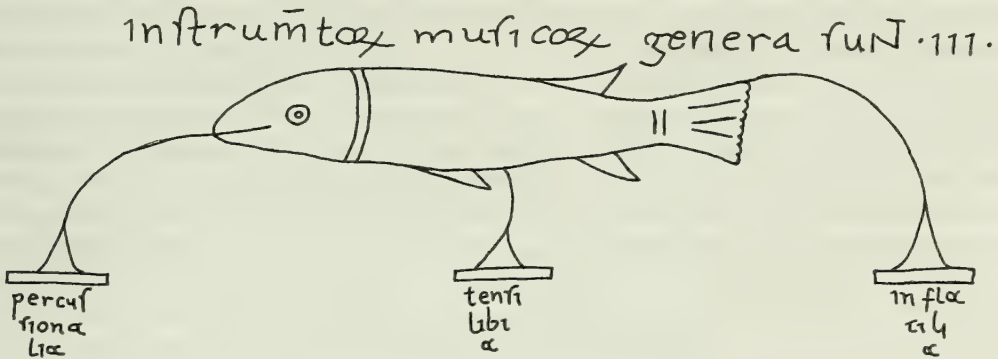

Fig. 7

After such a presentation, Cassiodorus goes on to expand the schema in prose. Many medieval sources and all modern editions of the text present the schemata without any decoration. The tradition of decorating the schemata nonetheless enjoys a distinguished ancestry, including the oldest extant source for the text of both books of the ›Institutiones‹ (Bamberg HJ. IV. 15). The tradition of decorating manuscripts of the ›Institutiones‹ may date back to Cassiodorus himself[33].

The ornaments that appear at the heads of the schemata include objects, animals, and human figures. Their choice seems to have been the product of whim and to bear no relationship to the sense of the text. For example, there is no apparent reason why a fish should appear at the head of the schema that identifies the three types of musical instruments or why the same ornament should be associated with the division between discrete and concrete numbers[34]. The ornaments are of a relatively stable iconography, having been copied from source to source with little variation. The ornamentation of the schemata, thereby, cannot be the source of the music illustrations in the Milan and Piacenza codices. It is to the remaining decoration of these Cassiodorus manuscripts that we must look for further clues about the music illustrations.

In his edition of the ›Institutiones‹, Sir Roger Mynors identifies three recensions of Book II. All five of the manuscripts with ornamented schemata fall within his first textual recension as follows[35]:
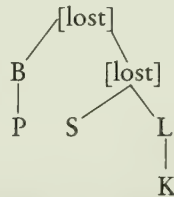
32 The inversion of »b« and »l« in tensibilia occurs in the schemata of both the Bamberg and the Paris codices.
33 The argument in favor of this early tradition relies chiefly on the evidence of the subscription in the Bamberg codex (fol. 67ʳ), »CODEX ARCHETYPUS AD CUIUS EXEMPLARIA SUNT RELIQUI CORRIGENDI«, which suggests a close relationship between it and Cassiodorus's archetype. See L. Spengel, ›Die Subscriptio der Institutiones des Cassiodorus im Bamberger Codex‹, in: Philologus 17 (1861), pp. 555–557, and, more recently, E. K. Rand (footnote 27), pp. 435 f.
34 Cassiodorus Senator (footnote 9), p. 139.
35 I have excerpted the five decorated manuscripts from Mynors's stemma (footnote 9, p. lvi). E. K. Rand proposed a revision to Mynors's stemma whereby S, L, and K would be considered a more closely related group than is implied by Mynors's scheme and P would not necessarily have been copied from B (footnote 27, pp. 440, 446 f.). The text of

The decoration of the manuscripts in St. Gall, London, and Karlsruhe is limited to the ornaments associated with the schemata. The Bamberg and Paris codices, which include the whole text of the ›Institutiones‹, have additional decoration. To be sure, the ornamented schemata constitute the largest part of the decoration in these manuscripts. The remaining decoration may be modest in quantity, but it is the field in the which the artists of the Bamberg and Paris codices felt most free to experiment, the ornaments of the schemata being treated essentially as text. That is to say, the schemata and their ornaments were copied with a reverence for the model appropriate to their integral rôle in the text[36]. Mazarine 660, which has the most elegant decoration of the group, boasts ten zoomorphic interlace initials of high quality in the Cassiodorus portion of the manuscript (fols. 75–142)[37]. These initials are quite different from
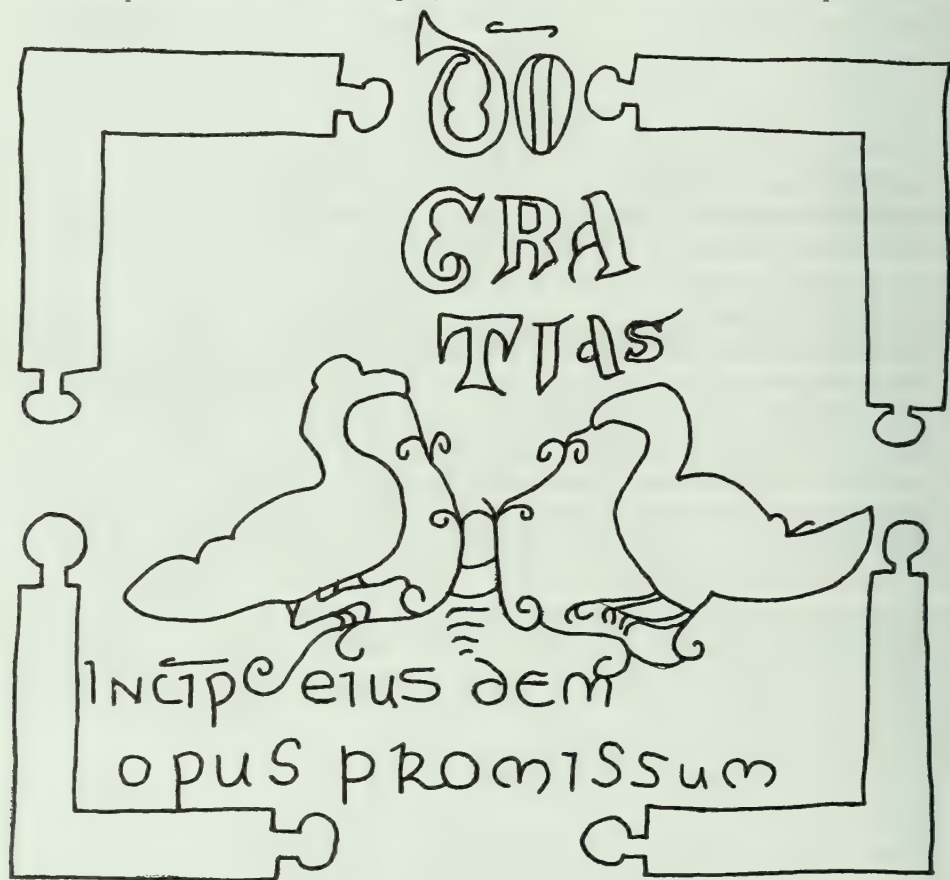

Fig. 8

the Cassiodorus excerpt and the texts of the inscriptions in the Piacenza ›Codice magno‹ are not conclusively of Mynors's first recension. Nor do they conform to Mynors's second or third recension. They include variants of all three recensions of Book II. Whether or not the ›De musica‹ portion of the ›Institutiones‹ had enjoyed a long separate existence antedating the Piacenza codex, it is impossible to trace this text exclusively to one of the recensions of Book II.

36 It is manifest in the Bamberg and Paris codices that the text and the schemata were copied before the rubrics. This raises the question as to who made the schemata, the scribe or someone else. Both seem possible to me, although the high quality of the decoration in Mazarine 660 points to the participation of a trained artist. Unfortunately, further exploration of this topic falls outside the scope of this project.

37 On fols. 75ʳ, 79ʳ, 107ʳ, 109ʳ, 110ᵛ, 116ʳ, 127ʳ, 131ᵛ, 136ʳ, 137ᵛ. The last quaternion of Book I is missing from this manuscript. Bernhard Bischoff has suggested that Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Hs. Phillipps 1737, fols. 38–43 may fill the gap (allowing for the missing outside bifolio). There is a space reserved in the Phillipps gathering for an illustration of the monastery at Vivarium which was never executed. See Bischoff (footnote 27), pp. 116–118.

their counterparts in the Bamberg codex (which may have served as direct model). Furthermore, the Bamberg codex has many more inhabited and decorated initials than does the Paris copy. The decoration of the Bamberg manuscript, although of poorer quality, is more extensive than that of the Paris manuscript not only in the larger number of decorated initials, but also in the inclusion of an illustration of Cassiodorus's monastery at Vivarium (fol. 29[v]) and a decoration at the incipit of Book I (fol. 4[v]; *fig. 8*)[38]. The decorative program of the Bamberg Cassiodorus does not include a prototype for the music illustrations. Nevertheless, the very contrast between the decoration in the Bamberg and Paris manuscripts points to the freedom with which elements of decoration not associated with the schemata could be treated. I propose that an artist or an artistically inclined scribe who had been set to work on the ornamentation of the schemata in a Cassiodorus manuscript would have fashioned the extent and intricacy of additional decoration to suit his own talents and ambitions. Even though the schemata and their ornaments would have been conservatively copied, additional decoration would have relied less on the textual model. This would create a situation in which we can easily imagine the introduction of illustrations of the three types of musical instruments. Indeed, in a twelfth-century manuscript containing Cassiodorus's ›De musica‹ cast in the form of a dialogue, the three types of instruments are illustrated (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. lat. 7211, fol. 134[v])[39]. The description of the types of musical instruments lends itself more readily to illustration than does the bulk of Cassiodorus's discussion of the liberal arts, and it is not surprising that the progeny of just such an illustration should survive in the Milan and Piacenza codices.

We can only speculate as to the appearance of the model(s) for the Milan and Piacenza illustrations and how far our illustrations are removed from the prototype. Tilman Seebass has proposed that the illustrations in the Milan codex were assembled from a variety of pictorial sources, both sacred and secular[40]. To be sure, this iconography ultimately derives from Psalter, Bible, and secular illustration. In light of the present discussion, however, it seems unlikely that the illustration was newly assembled by the artist of the Milan Boethius. Still troubling is the inconsistency in scale among the figures of the Milan illustrations. If the Milan pictures were copied from an illustrated Cassiodorus as I have proposed, we would not expect the disparity. This inconsistency in scale and the absence of a frame or ambiance for the figures could be explained by hypothesizing that the illustrations were copied from a source in which the figures were presented in a different format. For example, the model may have had marginal illustrations. Perhaps the model for the Milan pictures displayed the same inconsistency of scale in the collected format and was faithfully copied by the Milan artist. Under either of these circumstances, it is difficult to explain the relative integration of the Piacenza illustrations. It is conceivable, however, that the model(s) for the Milan and Piacenza illustrations were inconsistent in scale and that the experienced artist of the Piacenza codex was able to »tidy up« the images, perhaps adding the bell chimes (E), while the relative inexperience of the Milan artist prohibited him from achieving so successful a result. Perhaps inexperience on the part of the artist can wholly account for the appearance of the Milan illustrations and we need not project the inconsistency in scale back to the model.

It is to the added elements of the Milan illustrations that we must turn for further clues as to the nature of the model(s). The enthroned king is presumably a later addition to the iconography.

38 The two decorated manuscripts of Book I also include illustrations of the monastery (see footnote 25). See Courcelle (footnote 25), where the pictures of the monastery in the Bamberg, Kassel, and Würzburg codices are reproduced.
39 Reproduced in Smits van Waesberghe (footnote 1), fig. 90.
40 Seebass (footnote 10), p. 76.

It may well have been introduced in a composite liturgical book like the Piacenza ›Codice magno‹ and might have been associated with either a psalter or a tonary. This suggests that the direct model for the Milan and Piacenza illustrations was a manuscript very much like the ›Codice magno‹ containing perhaps only an excerpt from Cassiodorus's treatise. The branch or tree with three birds may have been intended to serve as an emblem for the division of the musical instruments into three types. On the other hand, this motif may have wandered into the Milan illustrations much as the enthroned king did. Perhaps some ornament like that on fol. 4ᵛ of the Bamberg codex served as a model (see *fig. 8*). This motif may therefore point farther back into the pictorial recension, to an illustrated ›Institutiones‹ manuscript. While the tradition of decorating the ›Institutiones‹ extends at least to the eighth century, the illustration of the types of musical instruments is probably not as old as the decorated schemata themselves. Rather, it seems characteristic of the Carolingian *renovatio* to explicate the text with illustrations, and this iconography may well have been created in a Carolingian scriptorium[41].

Finally, I should like to return to the collation of the Milan Boethius. As I described above, the illustrations fill up the last gathering of the ›De arithmetica‹; they do not bear a close physical relationship to the text of Boethius's treatise on music and they are not integral to it. In the light of my description of the text, little ground remains for associating the iconography of the Milan and Piacenza illustrations with Boethius's treatise even though it makes its first surviving appearance in a Boethius manuscript. In summary, the pervasive agreement in iconography between the illustrations in the Milan and Piacenza manuscripts points to a close relationship between them. The correspondence of the pictured instrumentarium with Cassiodorus's treatise both in the order of presentation and in the variety of instruments suggests that this iconography originally accompanied Cassiodorus's text. Furthermore, there was a tradition of illustrated manuscripts of Cassiodorus's ›Institutiones‹. The prototype for the music illustrations in the Milan Boethius and in the Piacenza ›Codice magno‹ was created within this tradition.

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41 It was, for example, in the ninth-century scriptorium at Tours that Boethius's ›De arithmetica‹ received for the first time elaborate decoration (Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Hs. HJ. IV. 12 [Class. 5]). See Wilhelm Koehler, Die Schule von Tours, vol. 1 (Berlin 1930; repr. Berlin 1960), pp. 255 f. and pls. 90–92 (= Die karolingischen Miniaturen, 1).

The Cymbala in Psalm 80 Initials: A Symbolic Interpretation

Martin van Schaik*

List of Illustrations

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* * *

The art of medieval manuscript illumination presents an abundance of pictures of musical instruments. A remarkable instrument appearing in late medieval sources are the »cymbala«, a row of small tuned bells hanging on a horizontal bar and struck with one or more hammers. In classical antiquity and the early Middle Ages the word »cymbala« especially signified hand cymbals.

A striking feature of the cymbala pictures is that they are almost exclusively found in connection with the Book of Psalms. In the Middle Ages this book was not necessarily part of a complete Bible: the Psalms, which are the most important element of the daily prayers, are often found in separate manuscripts. For both situations the name Psalter will be used here. In the Psalter the cymbala may be found in three places:

1. In the title picture of the Psalter.
2. As a miniature or marginal illustration to Psalm 150.
3. In certain initials. The first Psalms of the Matins (Psalm 1, 26, 38, 52, 68, 80, and 97) and the Sunday Vesper (Psalm 109) usually appear with decorated initials. (The numbering of the Psalms used here is that of the Vulgate.) The cymbala are almost exclusively represented in the initial E of Psalm 80.

Recent studies have demonstrated that the presentation of cymbala in the title pictures of Psalters is connected with the eighth-century introduction to the Psalms known as »Origo Psalmorum«[1]. This text, which is based on 1 Chronicles 15:16–29 and supplemented with medieval elements,

1 See Hugo Steger, David Rex et Propheta (Nürnberg 1961), pp. 113–117 (= Erlanger Beiträge zur Sprach- und Kunstwissenschaft, vol. 6), and Herbert L. Kessler, The Illustrated Bibles from Tours (Princeton 1977), pp. 96–110 (= Studies in Manuscript Illumination, vol. 7). Kessler's study contains an edition of the »Origo-text« based on Ms. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 1152, fol. 2ʳ–2ᵛ.

relates how King David chose four men – Asaph, Ethan, Heman, and Jeduthan – who together with him »made« the Psalms. In miniatures, each of these four men, nobles of the tribe of Levi, carries a musical instrument. David, who is in the center of this group, holds a psalterium (often depicted as a lyre or a harp), and Asaph, the cymbala. The origin of the »Origo«-text reaches back through Bede to Greek literary sources[2].

The subject of the »Origo«-text is a favorite theme in tenth- and eleventh-century Psalter illumination. Sometimes this theme is also found in the initial B of Psalm 1, as in the Beatus picture of the thirteenth-century Evesham Psalter (*fig. 1*). This was the result of the shift of the illustration theme from the title page to the initial B, a development that started in the twelfth century.

Likewise a conclusive explanation can be given for the presentation of the cymbala in connection with Psalm 150. In verse 5 of this Psalm cymbala are mentioned twice: »Laudate eum in cymbalis bene sonantibus, laudate eum in cymbalis iubilationis«. The cymbala in the marginal illustrations and miniatures in this place seem to be a direct illustration of the Psalm text[3].

The vast majority of cymbala, however, are found in the illumination of the initial E of Psalm 80. For the present survey 232 E-initials have been studied. Relevant details of those initials that show cymbala are listed in the Appendix[4]. Although I have attempted to examine as many initials as possible, I do not claim that the list is exhaustive.

The cymbala depictions in the E-initial of Psalm 80 are of a later period than those in the title pictures and in the miniatures of Psalm 150. They may be found from the time that the application of the figurative illumination principle was first developed, i. e., from the beginning of the thirteenth century.

In contrast with the cymbala on the title pages and those connected with Psalm 150, little systematic work has been done on the interpretation of the cymbala in the initial E. A clear explanation, as is available for the first and second groups, seems to be missing for the cymbala in the illumination of Psalm 80[5]. It is astonishing that this illustration theme is accepted almost generally without discussion of its origin.

An important reason for the absence of a conclusive explanation seems to be that in the research on this topic the basic illustration principle has been neglected as well as the Psalm exegesis relevant to the picture. Consequently, the cymbala have been studied as an isolated object, apart from other Psalm illuminations, which, particularly in the discussion of the cymbala in relation to Psalm 80, has often led to misinterpretations. These aspects justify a thorough investigation into the relationship between the cymbala and musical instruments in other Psalm initials. I have found that the cymbala struck by King David is part of a threefold symbolism of heavenly order.

In the illumination of initials the theme of decoration is, according to tradition, not determined by the imagination of the painter, but mainly by the opening words of the Psalm

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2 Tilman Seebass, Musikdarstellung und Psalterillustration im früheren Mittelalter, Textband (Bern 1973), p. 133: »[...] der Text findet sich wenig anders gegliedert und ähnlich im Wortlaut auch in Byzanz, und zwar schon seit frühchristlicher Zeit, zum Beispiel in dem schon herangezogenen Vorwort des Theodoret.«

3 With regard to the instruments mentioned in psalm 150 see Seebass (footnote 2), pp. 106–111.

4 For this study I also used 71 descriptions of cymbala in E-initials; these sources are not listed in the Appendix of »Exultate« initials. I should like to express my thanks to Mr. Kees Doevendans and Mr. Dries Lansdorp – students of musicology at the Rijksuniversiteit in Utrecht – for their inventory.

5 See Edward Buhle, Das Glockenspiel in den Miniaturen des frühen Mittelalters. Festschrift zum 90. Geburtstage Sr. Exzellenz des wirklichen Geheimen Rates Rochus Freiherrn von Liliencron (Leipzig 1910), p. 70. His opinion has been taken over by Prosper Verheyden, ›Het klokkenspel in verluchte handschriften‹, in: Beiaardkunst, handelingen van het eerste congres Mechelen 1922 (Mechelen 1922), p. 142.
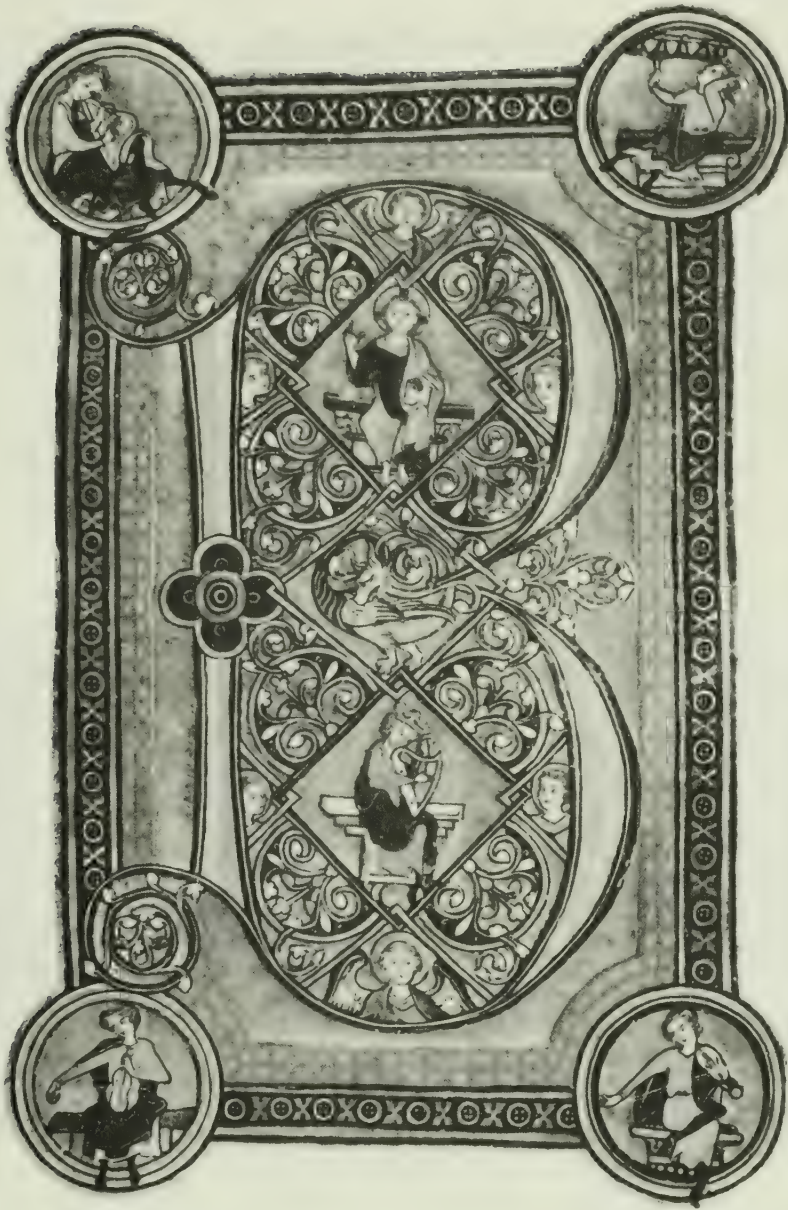
Fig. 1

text[6]. At present, this illumination principle is called »word illustration«. Günter Haseloff's valuable inventory of illustration themes and principles (Die Psalterillustration im 13. Jahrhundert) presented new ideas in this field[7].

The principle of word illustration has also been followed in the initial decoration of Psalm 80. The miniaturists took from the opening words of the Psalm text »Exultate Deo adiutori nostro

6 Regarding the illustration principle of the E–initial of Psalm 80, see the misapprehension of André Lehr, ›Het middeleeuwse klokkenspel van Bethlehem‹, in: Klok en Klepel 27 (1981), pp. 82 f.
7 Günther Haseloff, Die Psalterillustration im 13. Jahrhundert. Studien zur Geschichte der Buchmalerei in England, Frankreich und den Niederlanden (Kiel 1938).

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iubilate Deo Iacob«, particularly the words »Exultate Deo«, as a guide for the determination of the theme.

A few manuscripts do not show cymbala but other musical instruments in the E–initials. These instruments seem to be mostly a direct illustration of those mentioned in the verses 3 and 4 of Psalm 80: »Sumite psalmum et date tympanum psalterium iucundum cum cithara / bucinate in neomenia tuba in insigni die sollemnitatis nostrae.«[8] An example is found in the Psalm 80 miniature of the Heiligenkreuz Psalter, Stiftsbibliothek, Ms. 66, fol. 65[r], of the thirteenth century (*fig. 2*). In this illumination a harp, a psalterium, a drum, and a trumpet are presented. The instruments are a pictorial interpretation of those mentioned in the text: the »cithara« (harp), the »psalterium« (psalterium), the »tympanum« (drum), and the »tuba« (trumpet). A striking feature of this illumination is that none of the musicians can be identified as (King) David. A similar identification problem arises in two English manuscripts of the end of the twelfth century[9]. The absence of King David in these pictures may be explained by a difference in word illustration between the verses 3 and 4 on the one hand and the opening words of Psalm 80 on the other.

In some »Exultate« initials the number of instruments is less than mentioned in the text, probably due to lack of space.

Fig. 2   Fig. 3

An interesting group of illustrations consists of pictures showing cymbala in combination with other instruments mentioned in the text. The pattern found in these initials reminds one strongly of that known from the initial B of Psalm 1. In the initial E of the thirteenth-century Paris manuscript, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. nouv. acq. lat. 1392, fol. 113[v], King David with the cymbala has been placed in the upper part, the fiddler and the trumpeter in the lower part (*fig. 3*)[10].

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8 »Take up the psalm and bring hither the timbrel, the pleasant harp with the psaltery. / Blow up the trumpet in the new moon, at the full moon on our solemn feast day«: verses 2 and 3 of Psalm 80 in The Interlinear Bible (Cambridge 1907).

9 London, British Library, Ms. Arundel 157, fol. 71[v], and London, British Library, Ms. Lansdowne 432, fol. 64[v].

10 As well as in Ms. Douce, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 366, fol. 109[r].
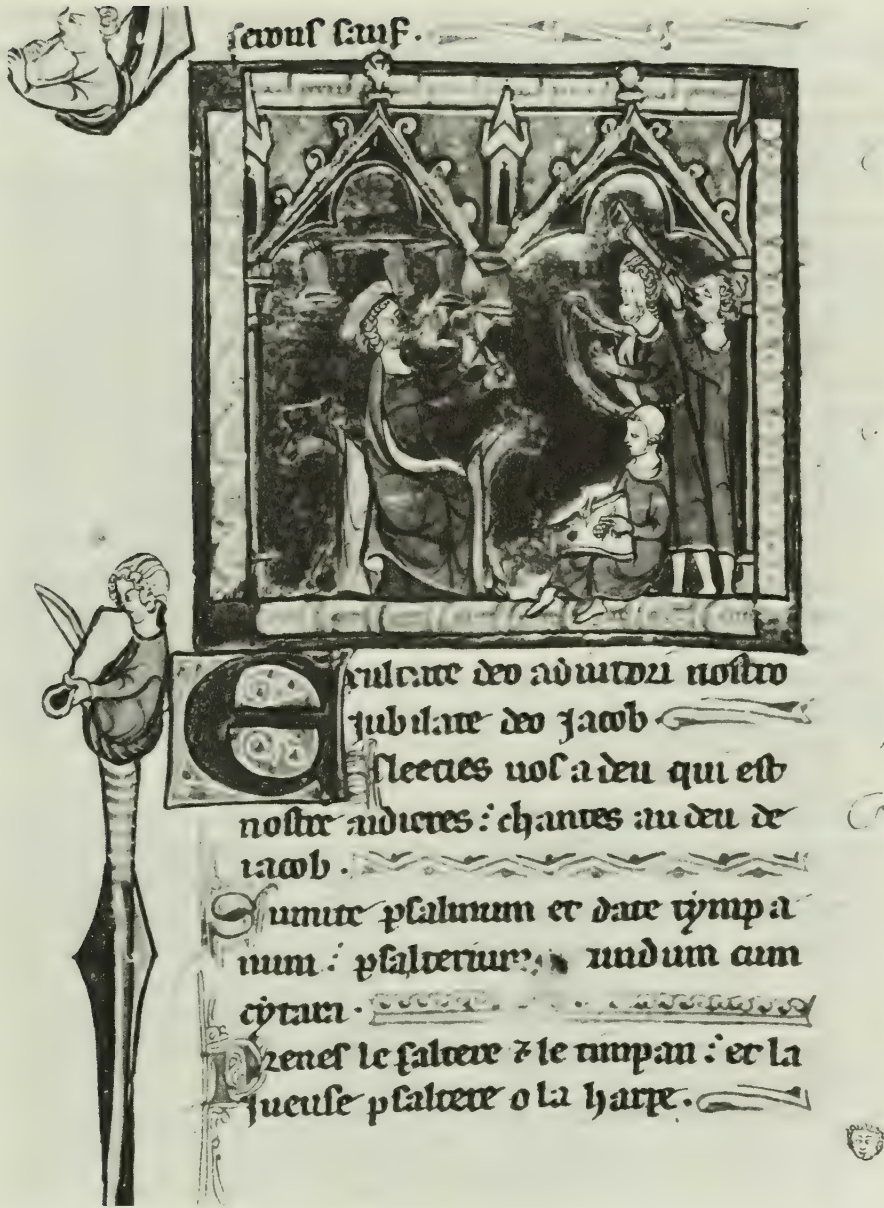
Fig. 4

A miniature attached to Psalm 80 in a fourteenth-century Book of Hours from northern France, now in the Royal Library, Brussels (Ms. 9391, fol. 48ᵛ), shows not only the instruments, but also the Latin and French names: »tympanum – timpan«, »psalterium – psaltere«, »cytara – harpe«, and »tuba – buisines«. Linguistically these names correspond closely to those mentioned in verses 3 and 4 of Psalm 80. Some of the instruments presented here – the harp, the psalterium, and the trumpet – may be identified as those mentioned in the text (*fig. 4*). However, this does not apply to the cymbala, which are struck by King David in this picture. In the text of Psalm 80

this last instrument is not mentioned. It is highly remarkable that in spite of this, the theme of King David striking the cymbala with one or with two hammers takes a central position in the majority of the initial pictures of Psalm 80. In all cymbala pictures of the »Exultate« initials studied here, only a few examples have been found in which the cymbala are played not by King David, but by another person[11].

The Belgian musicologist Isabelle Hottois, who is aware of the problem of its interpretation, holds the view that the presentation of the cymbala in the illumination of Psalm 80 has to be explained through a synonymous use of the words »tympanum« and »cymbalum«. Thus she states in connection with the Brussels picture discussed before (Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 9391, fol. 48ᵛ): »Tympanum – timpan [. . .] d.w.z. de cymbala«[12]. The same author makes an analogous remark in the exhibition catalogue of the ASLK Gallery, Brussels, published in 1985: »›Tympanum‹ en ›timpan‹: het betreft hier in feite de cymbala.«[13]

André Lehr, a Dutch campanologist, does not seem to believe in the importance of the relationship between name and object. In a recent publication he writes concerning the relationship between the instruments shown in the pictures and the Psalm text: »We will not discuss the question whether the original text, mentioning the instruments, has in fact been translated correctly.«[14]

However, the answer to this question seems to me to be rather important, if a conclusion is to be reached as to whether or not there is a synonymous relation between the words »cymbalum« and »tympanum«. The mere assumption of the synonymous use of the words is insufficient evidence for the explanation of the cymbala in the initial of Psalm 80. Therefore, a thorough investigation of the meaning of the words »tympanum« and »cymbalum« in the Middle Ages is called for.

Recent research has shown that the term »tympanum« is nearly always used in connection with a hand-drum provided with metal disks. The word »tympanum« appears in the writings of the Church Fathers as well as in several medieval commentaries on the Bible. However, the Church Fathers considered musical instruments to be an evil and, consequently, that these instruments deserved no reasonable consideration. Nevertheless, from an exegetic point of view an explanation of the instruments mentioned in the Holy Writ was necessary and inevitable. The religious authors tried to find a solution by attaching a symbolic interpretation to these biblical instruments, among them the tympanum and the cymbalum. This symbolism has been studied thoroughly by James McKinnon and Helmut Giesel[15].

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11 This is the case in the following manuscripts: Hamburg, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. In. Scr. 83, fol. 82ᵛ; London, British Library, Ms. Add. 54179, fol. 76ᵛ; British Library, Ms. Harley 5102, fol. 77ᵛ.

12 »Tympanum-timpan [. . .] i. e., the cymbala«; see Isabelle Hottois, De muziekiconografie in de handschriften van de Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I (Brussels 1982), p. 58.

13 »›Tympanum‹ and ›timpan‹: in fact, the cymbala are meant here«; see Isabelle Hottois, Muziek als inspiratiebron in de Belgische kunst XIIIde – XXste eeuw. Tentoonstellingscatalogus van Galerij ASLK (Brussels 1985), p. 20.

14 See Lehr (footnote 6), p. 83: »Wij gaan hier maar voorbij aan de vraag of de oorspronkelijke tekst met de hier genoemde muziekinstrumenten inderdaad correct vertaald is.« Lehr continues (translated here): »The question shrinks into insignificance when we establish that the illustrators by no means had the intention of depicting the original instruments. It rather looks as if they have used contemporary instruments to embellish, in compliance with their taste, the letter E of Psalm 81 [i. e., 80] with music.« It seems to me that answering this question is important because from the twelfth century on the illustrators of Psalm initials interpreted the musical instruments from the Latin Vulgate and the biblical exegesis.

15 James McKinnon, The Church Fathers and Musical Instruments, Ph. D. diss. (Columbia University 1965), pp. 236–245, and Music in Early Christian Literature (Cambridge 1987; = Cambridge Readings in the Literature of Music); Helmut Giesel, Studien zur Symbolik der Musikinstrumente im Schrifttum der alten und mittelalterlichen Kirche (Regensburg 1978), pp. 160–166 and pp. 188–191 (= Kölner Beiträge zur Musikforschung, vol. 94).

One of the interpretations given for the tympanum is related to the animal skin that is part of the instrument. In connection with this, three aspects are consistently mentioned. First, the animal skin, because it evokes the idea of the skin as part of the human body, points, theologically speaking, to the contrast between the flesh and the soul. Second, the tension of the skin is a reminder of the sexual tension to which the body is subject. Finally, that the animal has to be killed in order to make the skin available is related to Paul's text on the death of the human body (e.g., 2 Corinthians 4:10). This symbolic interpretation of the tympanum is found in Bible commentaries throughout the Middle Ages.

It is clear from the contexts in which the word cymbala is mentioned in the Bible that it always concerns the praise of God[16]. In the Psalms the word »cymbala« appears only in verse 5 of Psalm 150. The praising character of the relevant clause applies to the whole Alleluia Psalm, which is an important part of the three Psalms of Praise, being the last one. Of special interest is the symbolic explanation given by the exegetes to this clause and, in particular, to the cymbala mentioned in the text.

The Church Father Augustine (354–430) is the first Latin author to compare the cymbala with »labia nostra«. In his comprehensive commentary on Psalm 150 he writes: »Cymbala invicem tangunt ut sonent, ideo a quibusdam labiis nostris comparata sunt.«[17]

The words »cymbala invicem tangunt« show that Augustine does not yet relate the word »cymbala« to bells, but to hand cymbals known from the Jewish culture. These hand cymbals must be conceived as small metal cups, which are struck against each other in turn, producing a shrill sound. In the early Middle Ages the cymbala are frequently depicted as »Gabelbecken« (forked cymbals), as Tilman Seebass calls them; they are often found in miniatures to Psalm 150[18].

It is not clear how far Augustine and later authors, when using the symbolic interpretation of »labia nostra«, were influenced by Bible passages such as that from 1 Corinthians 13:1, in which a relationship between speaking and the cymbala is suggested:

> »Si linguis hominum loquar et angelorum
> caritatem autem non habeam
> factus sum velut aes sonans aut
> cymbalum tinniens.«[19]

The transfer of the symbolism has a highly traditional character. The interpretation mentioned is found in almost identical words in the writings of later authors such as Arnobius of Gaul,

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16 2 Samuel 6:5. 1 Chronicles 13:8; 15:16, 19, and 28; 16:5 and 42; 25:1 and 6. 2 Chronicles 5:12 and 13. Ezra 3:10. Nehemiah 12:27. Judith 16:2 (apocryphal). Psalms 150:5. Isaiah 18:1. 1 Maccabees 4:54 and 13:51 (apocryphal). 1 Corinthians 13:1.

17 »Cymbals touch one another in order to sound and therefore are by some compared to our lips«; Augustine, ›Enarratio in psalmum‹ 150 (CC [= Corpus Christianorum ..., Series Latina] 40, p. 2196). I should like to express my thanks to Prof. Dr. Arpád Orbán for his comments upon my translations from Latin. The comparison between the cymbala and lips had already been used by the Greek Church Father Athanasius of Alexandria (PG [= J.-P. Migne, Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Graeca], 27, 1341D). See also Giesel (footnote 15), pp. 189f., and Helene La Rue, ›The Problem of the Cymbala‹, in: The Galpin Society Journal 35 (1982), pp. 86–99.

18 The illumination of Psalm 150 is discussed in detail by Tilman Seebass (footnote 2), pp. 106–111 and pp. 115–122. His Bildband (Bern 1973) contains a number of illustrations of the forked cymbals; see for instance the pls. 93, 94 (below), 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, and 110.

19 »Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, but have not love, I am become as sounding brass, or a clanging cymbal.«

Cassiodorus, Amalarius of Metz, and Walafrid Strabo[20]. The symbolic interpretation has not only been applied to the exegetical commentary on Psalm 150. It has also been used in connection with a passage in the apocryphal Book of Judith 16, verses 1–2. The exegesis of Rabanus Maurus (c. 780–856), for example, reads:

»[. . .] et significat labiorum nostrorum motum, quae non immerito inter musica instrumenta posita sunt, quia et similitudo quaedam est cymbalorum, et per eam voces humanae harmoniam reddere suavissimam comproba(n)tur.«[21]

A plausible explanation of the symbolic interpretation might be that the exegetes based it on the analogy of the word »labium« (the human lip) with the rim of the bell, which is also called »lip« in the present-day literature on bells[22]. In this comparison the tongue would then correspond to the clapper of the bell. Unfortunately, no evidence at all exists for the »labium« explanation, at least in the Middle Ages. Likewise there is no positive relationship between the symbolic interpretations given to the words »tympanum« and »cymbalum«. The same is the case for the etymological relation between the two words. Only a few of the numerous Latin dictionaries mention a synonymous relation between the two terms. This will be briefly discussed here.

In his ›Lateinisch-romanisches Wörterbuch‹, Gustav Körting relates the »Hammerglocke« to the word »tympanum« , but the source cited does not date from the Middle Ages, but from the seventeenth century[23]. Körting's remark that the French word »timbre« may also mean »tympanum«, seems to conflict with the traditional meaning of the term »timbre«[24].

In his ›Lexicon Latinitatis Medii Aevi‹, Albert Blaise's translation of the word »tympanum« as the French »cloche« is based on a twelfth-century Chronicle of the Abbey Saint-Bénigne of Dijon[25]. The Latin quotation »fecit [. . .] refundi magnum signum, sive tympanum aut cymbalorum«[26], used to support this, is far from convincing because the words »tympanum« and »cymbalum« are not used in a synonymous relationship.

Likewise, Niermeyer in the ›Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus‹, uses a twelfth-century French source, a toll bill of Poitiers: »Timpanum, IIII denarios de pedagio et I denarium de vigeria«[27]. Freely translated, this reads, »The tympanum, four silver coins from the toll and one from the domain«. The author's translation of the word »tympanum« as »cloche« and »bell« seems to be a

20 Arnobius of Gaul, ›Commentarii in Psalmos‹ – Ps. 150 (PL [= J.-P. Migne, Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Latina] 53, 570A); Cassiodorus, ›Expositio Psalmorum‹ – Ps. 150 (CC 98, p. 1329); Amalarius of Metz, ›Liber Officialis‹, liber III, chapter 3 (Johannes M. Hanssens, ed., Amalarii episcopi opera liturgica omnia, vol. 2, Rome 1948, p. 269:20–25 [= Studi e Testi, 139]); Rabanus Maurus, ›Commentarium in Paralipomenon I, Liber I‹ (PL 109, 346D–347A) and ›Expositio in librum Judith‹, chapter 16 (PL 109, 581D–582A); Walafrid Strabo, ›Liber I Paralipomenon‹ with references to Psalm 150 (PL 113, 652B) and ›Liber Psalmorum‹ – Ps. 150 (PL 113, 1080A); Peter Lombard, ›Commentarium in Psalmos‹ – Ps. 150 (PL 191, 1292C and 1293C).
21 »[. . .] it also symbolizes the movement of our lips, which are not wrongly ranged under the musical instruments, because there is also a certain agreement with the cymbala. Furthermore it appears that through it human voices produce a very pleasant harmony« (PL 109, 581D).
22 See, for example, André Lehr, Van Paardebel tot Speelklok (Zaltbommel 1967, repr. 1971), p. 48, fig. 1. I should like to express my gratitude to drs. Peter Bremer and Dr. André Lehr for giving their opinion on this topic.
23 Gustav Körting, Lateinisch-romanisches Wörterbuch (Etymologisches Wörterbuch der romanischen Hauptsprachen), 3d rev. ed. (Paderborn 1907), col. 992.
24 Compare Wolfgang Ulland, Jouer d'un Instrument und die altfranzösischen Bezeichnungen des Instrumentenspiels (Bonn 1970), p. 76 (= Romanistische Versuche und Vorarbeiten, 35); Walther von Wartburg, Französisches etymologisches Wörterbuch, vol. 13, part 2 (Basel 1967), pp. 454f.
25 Albert Blaise, Lexicon Latinitatis Medii Aevi (Turnhout 1975), p. 936, with the source reference: E. Bougaud and J. Garnier, Chronique de l'abbaye de St Bénigne de Dijon (Dijon 1875; = Analecta Divionensa, 5).
26 »He had a loud signal pour out from either the tympanum or the cymbala.«
27 Jan Niermeyer, Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus (Leiden 1976), p. 1028, with the source reference: E. Audouin,

personal interpretation, because it is impossible to conclude from the text whether a bell or a drum is meant here.

Finally, in the ›Glossarium Latino-Germanicum Mediae et Infimae Aetatis‹, Lorenz Diefenbach mentions the Middle High German word »glocke« as a synonym of the Latin »timpanum«. Because of the obscure dating of his source, it is impossible to check whether it originates from the same period as our cymbala[28].

The only evidence known to the present author in which the word »tympanum« is used as a synonym of »cymbalum« is found in two Old High German Bible glosses. In an eighth-century manuscript (Stiftsbibliothek Sankt-Gallen, Ms. 911, fol. 213[v]) it says, »tymphanis – cymbolon«. An almost identical glossing is found in a tenth-century codex from Karlsruhe (Landesbibliothek, Ms. Aug. CXI, fol. 277[r]): »tympanis – cymbalom«[29]. Unfortunately, the edition of Steinmeyer-Sievers, which presents both glosses, does not mention the relevant Bible passages.

In summary, it can be concluded that the synonyms »tympanum« and »cymbalum« hardly seem to exist in Medieval writings, apart from both Old High German glosses. Neither from the theological exegeses, nor from musical theoretical treatises, is an example known to me that shows that the words have an equivalent meaning. Consequently, a general synonymous use of the words cannot be accepted. It appears more adequate to conclude that the suggestions mentioned provide insufficient evidence for a sound explanation of the presentation of cymbala in the E–initial[30].

The next question to be answered is whether the »labia nostra« symbolism of Psalm 150 might be useful for the explanation of the presentation of the cymbala in the initial of Psalm 80.

It should be pointed out first that a comparison of the cymbala illustrations in Psalms 80 and 150 is made with reservations. Both groups of pictures originate in different periods with different illumination principles. The cymbala pictures of Psalm 150 are found from the ninth century onwards and, as stated before, they are a direct illustration of the Psalm text. The initial pictures of Psalm 80, however, occur from the twelfth to the fifteenth century, and here a direct relationship to the text is absent. The latter group of pictures was created in a period in which the illumination of Bibles and Psalters was no longer practiced in monasteries alone, but mainly in illustration centers. In these centers standardized decoration themes were used.

In this context, the cymbala symbolism plays a very important role. Without exception the instrument is connected with the praise of God by man. As we have seen, this motive is found in the opening words of the Psalms, which for Psalm 80 are »Exultate Deo«, and for Psalm 150, »Laudate Dominum«. Because in the exegesis of Psalm 80 the picture of King David with the cymbala is not directly associated with the Psalm text, there is insufficient reason to assume that the symbolic idea of the »labia nostra« of Psalm 150 has been projected onto the illumination of the initial of Psalm 80.

Recueil de Documents concernant la commune et la ville de Poitiers, vol. I: de 1063 à 1327 (Poitiers 1923), p. 56, no. 28, paragraph 34 (= Archives historiques du Poitou, 44).

28 Lorenz Diefenbach, Glossarium Latino-Germanicum Mediae et Infimae Aetatis (Frankfurt am Main 1857; repr. Darmstadt 1968), p. 584a. As a source he mentions »Vocabularibus rerum 4, no. 261 ›Vocabularibus bonus MCCLX vocabularius‹«. The dating of Diefenbach's sources is rather problematic; the greater part consists of late medieval writings.

29 Both references are mentioned by Elias Steinmeyer and Eduard Sievers, Die althochdeutschen Glossen, vol. 1. Glossen zu biblischen Schriften (Berlin 1879), p. 259, no. 12. The dating of the manuscripts is based on Die althochdeutschen Glossen, vol. 4 (Berlin 1898).

30 See Lehr (footnote 6) and Hottois (footnotes 12 and 13).

The illustration theme of Psalm 80 seems to be determinated by three factors:

– The function of the cymbala in the »divisio instrumentorum«,
– the ordering role assigned to King David,
– and the principle of Psalter classification.

From late antiquity musical instruments were classified according to the principle of the »divisio instrumentorum«, a system originating with Boethius. In his treatise ›De institutione musica‹ (Liber I, chapters 10–11) the term »mensura« – meaning »measure« and »measuring« – is directly connected with the correspondence between interval size and Pythagorean proportions. The function of this mensura-theory is to visualize how the musical intervals and the inherent tonal system are determined by numbers and proportions. Underlying this theory is the evidence that fundamental musical data depend on a higher »ordo«. This theory was developed by Boethius for all three classes of instruments: string, wind, and percussion.

The »divisio instrumentorum« has been described frequently, not only in musical theoretical treatises from the Middle Ages. It is also found in many commentaries on the Psalms, which is highly important for the explanation of the cymbala in the initial of Psalm 80.

An example is found in the ›Commentarium in Psalmos‹ of Gerhoh (1093–1169), provost of the Canons Regular of St. Augustine at Reichersberg. At the end of the discussion on the musical instruments mentioned in Psalm 80, an interesting clause has been added, in which Gerhoh seems to be inclined to justify the use of these instruments:

> »Notandum quod musicis instrumentis jubemur Deum laudare. Antiqui enim solebant in sacrificiis his uti artibus: unde et nos in divinis officiis utimur organis. [...] Musica enim ars est coelestis disciplina, cujus prima partitio est harmoniaca, rhythmica, metrica; secunda partitio percussibilis ut cymbala; intensibilis, ut cithara; inflatilis, ut organa. Tertia partitio in septem symphoniis. Quarta in quindecim tonis.«[31]

Thus the field of science covering music is divided by Gerhoh into four parts. Particularly interesting is the classification into percussion, string, and wind instruments, in which all three classes of instruments from the medieval classification system are mentioned. Gerhoh goes on to specify the organ, the cymbala, and the bells as instruments praising God:

> »Ideo hac arte instructi divina verba in hac laude modulamur ut hymnos et caetera, et instrumentis hujus artis ut organis, cymbalis et campanis Deo servimus, quia et psalmos per musica instrumenta prolatos scimus.«[32]

A similar classification of instruments, in this case included in a commentary on Psalm 150, is given by Bruno (c. 1030–1101), canon of St. Cunibert in Cologne. In this clause the importance of certain instruments is underlined:

> »Non solum, o fideles, laudetis Deum in chordis et organo et cymbalis [...]«[33]

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31 »It must be noted that we are commanded to praise God by means of musical instruments. The ancients [the Greeks and Romans] used to use these arts at their sacrifices: that is why we too use the organ in religious ceremonies. [...] The art of music is after all a heavenly science of which the first part consists of the harmonic, the rhythmic, and the metric divisions. The second part is divided into percussion instruments, such as cymbala; stringed instruments, such as the cythara; and wind instruments, such as the organ. The third part consists of the seven ›symphoniae‹ [musical intervals], and the fourth of fifteen tones« (PL 194, 499D–500A).

32 »That is why, having been instructed in this art [i. e., of music], we accompany the divine words like hymns et cetera with this praise and serve God with instruments of this art, like the organ, the cymbala, and the bells; because we know that the Psalms are also revealed by means of musical instruments« (PL 194, 500B).

33 »That, o ye faithful, you do not merely praise God by string music, the organ, and the cymbala [...]« (PL 152, 1420C).

The instruments given as examples by Gerhoh and Bruno in their texts have not been chosen arbitrarily. They represent all possible ways of tone production; by »intensione« (tension), by »spiritu« or »flatu« (air current), and by »percussio« or »pulsu« (stroke). The same instruments are found in the Psalm initials. In the Medieval Psalters they are depicted at three standard places and they are nearly always played by King David (*diagram*).

Diagram: Fixed themes depicting musical instruments in Psalm initials.

psalm 1 B–initial David and the harp	psalm 80 E–initial David and the cymbala	psalm 97 C–initial David and the organ or a singing monk

The tripartition into string, wind, and percussion instruments in the illumination of the initials has been shown not only to exist from a systematic point of view, but also to represent a symbolic idea.

First of all, the tripartition symbolizes the state of perfection. In relation to the instruments mentioned, it has been realized in various ways. The instruments symbolize the threefold praise of God. King David is the person who, at least by common medieval consent, is considered to be the poet of the Psalms, which are intended to praise God. Accordingly, in Psalm illumination David is depicted in the role of the author of the Psalms, and as the supreme Psalmodist. Consequently, it is not a coincidence that it should be David who is presented in relation to these instruments.

The choice of the instruments presented in the initials seems to be determined to a large extent by historical development. In texts on the theory of music from the eleventh century onwards the terms »mensura« (measure), »numerus« (number), and »pondus« (weight) are often related to the monochord, the organ, and the cymbala[34]. It is assumed that these instruments are used in a similar way, particularly for the determination of the Pythagorean pitches. The three instruments were accepted by the Church and the religious theorists as devices for music pedagogy.

To David, as the prefiguration of Christ, the ordination of the world, including the musical world, is attributed. This attribution was undoubtedly influenced by a passage from the apocryphal Bible book ›Liber Sapientiae‹ 11:21: »God has ordered all things according to measure, number, and weight«. In the Psalm initials the arithmetic principle of ordination is symbolized by the musical instruments related to David, the harp, the cymbala, and the organ:

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34 Klaus-Jürgen Sachs, ›Die Rolle der Mensura von Monochord, Orgelpfeifen und Glocken in der mittelalterlichen Ars Musica‹, in: Mensura, Maß, Zahl, Zahlensymbolik im Mittelalter, 2. Halbband (Berlin 1984), pp. 459–475 (= Miscellanea Mediaevalia, vol. 16/2); by the same author, ›Mensura fistularum. Die Mensurierung der Orgelpfeifen im Mittelalter‹, Teil I (Stuttgart 1970; = Schriftenreihe der Walcker-Stiftung für orgelwissenschaftliche Forschung, vol. 1); Joseph Smits van Waesberghe, Cymbala. Bells in the Middle Ages (Rome 1951; = Musicological Studies and Documents, 1); also, Musikerziehung. Lehre und Theorie der Musik im Mittelalter (Leipzig 1969), pp. 32–34 (= Musikgeschichte in Bildern, vol. 3, fasc. 3), and De musico-paedagogico et theoretico Guidone Aretino eiusque vita et moribus (Florence 1953), pp. 156–185; Dagmar Hoffmann-Axthelm, ›Instrumentensymbolik und Aufführungspraxis. Zum Verhältnis von Symbolik und Realität in der mittelalterlichen Musikanschauung‹, in: Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis IV, 1980, pp. 9–90; James McKinnon and Robert Anderson, ›Cymbalum‹, in: The New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments, ed. by Stanley Sadie, vol. 1 (London 1984), pp. 532f.; in his article ›Die Musik am Freiburger Münster‹, in: Archiv für Musikwissenschaft 9 (1952), pp. 204–218, Reinhold Hammerstein attaches to the harp, the cymbala, and the organ a meaning of order if these instruments are depicted together with King David. However, Hammerstein passes by the specific mensura terminology and does not connect the ordo idea with the initial illuminations to Psalms 1, 80, and 97.

- The initial of Psalm 1 shows King David tuning the strings of the harp, using a tuning key; the length (»mensura«) of the strings is different.
- In the initials of Psalm 80 David is striking bells of different thickness (and size). In medieval treatises, the measuring idea of »pondus« is used for bells. This is nearly always connected with the wax weights (»pondera cerae«) of the »false bells«. The so-called false bell, a wax model of full size, was encased in loam. When the loam had hardened, the wax was melted and the remaining space was filled with molten bronze[35].
- The initial of Psalm 97 shows King David playing the organ. From the mensura texts on organ pipes it is clear that a close relationship exists between the terms »mensura« and »numerus«. From the tenth century the theoretical view that the proportion of pipes and the corresponding intervals depend on only one variable, the mensura (the length of the pipe), caused problems in practical experiments. The supposedly universal idea of a correspondence between proportion and interval – as had been suggested by the Pythagoras legend – turned out to be physically impossible. Nevertheless, authors writing on the organ mensura use the experience of the medieval organbuilders that in cylindrical pipes the pitch also depends on the diameter (»mensura diametri«). In the calculation of the mensura an extra factor, »numerus«, was added, being an additional value to the proportional change of the length; this fitted naturally within the mensura based on pipes with the same diameter[36].

From the above classification it may be clear why »tympanum« can never be considered a synonym of the »cymbalum« mentioned in the third verse of Psalm 80. In no way could the tympanum have been related to the factor pondus; it belongs to the percussion instruments, which, according to medieval opinion, produce indistinct sounds, i. e., sounds without a discernible pitch.

However, the trinity »mensura«, »numerus«, and »pondus« not only symbolizes the cosmos according to the Pythagorean view. The combination of these instruments with the person of David was meant specifically to represent the divine order of the musical instruments, the »musica mundana«. That is why Gerhoh of Reichersberg considers music in his commentary on the Psalms as »an art from heaven«. In my opinion this most important role attributed to King David was the reason for depicting him and the cymbala in the initial E of Psalm 80.

As with the three classes of instruments, the relevant Psalms are closely connected with the praise of God. As noted above, both illuminations of the initial E of Psalm 80 and the initial C of Psalm 97 are based on the opening words, which are full of jubilation: »Exultate Deo« and »Cantate Domino«. The harp illustration in the initial B of Psalm 1 is based on the words »Beatus vir« and it functions as the title picture of the whole Psalter manuscript. Although title pages of Psalters (particularly from the tenth and eleventh centuries) have survived in which King David is shown with a monochord, it seems that this instrument was replaced by the harp (»cithara«) also because of the theological-historical context in which King David was placed from the beginning of the illumination of the initial of Psalm 1.

Not only the picture of the initial B of Psalm 1, but also the theme in the initial of Psalm 97 have undergone a shift. The organ, found particularly in northern French manuscripts in the

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35 This method has been described in detail by the 12th-century German monk Theophilus, a pseudonym of Roger of Helmarshausen, in his treatise ›De diversis artibus‹, chapter 85: ›De campanis fundendis‹. Chapters 86, ›De mensura cymbalorum‹, and 87, ›Item de cymbalis musicis‹, deal with wax weights. The treatise was published by C. R. Dodwell, Theophilus. The Various Arts (London 1961), pp. 150–159.
36 See the explanation by Sachs, ›Die Rolle der Mensura‹ (footnote 34), pp. 468 f.

period between about 1230 and 1250, has been replaced in the French and English manuscripts of the second half of the thirteenth century by the illustration theme of the »singing clergyman«. It has been suggested that an explanation of this shift might be found in the wish to avoid ambiguity between sacral and profane music, for it is clear that it is a clergyman who is singing the »canticum novum«[37]. However, this conclusion seems open to question, because the presence of David would annul such an ambiguity in Psalm 97, as it did in the initials of Psalms 1 and 80.

The theme shift within the initial of Psalm 97 does not conflict with the idea of ordo. From theoretical treatises it is known that the mensura and the numerus of the human voice had already been incorporated in the musical ordo in the eleventh century. Thus, in the manuscript ›Musicae artis disciplina‹ by Pseudo-Odo, dating from about 1000, it is written:

> »Qua in re divinam sapientiam admirans glorificare poteris, quia sicut omnia reliqua, ita et voces hominum, ut se laudarent in numero et mensura, constituit.«[38]

The trinity in the set of instruments used for praising God is not affected fundamentally by the theme shift either. Only the ordering role of David is less clear. It is found now particularly in the initials of Psalms 1 and 80. The ordering symbolism of David is shown only in combination with the musical instruments.
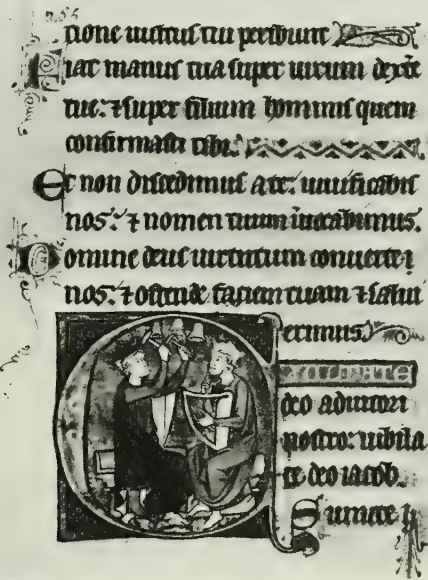
Fig. 5
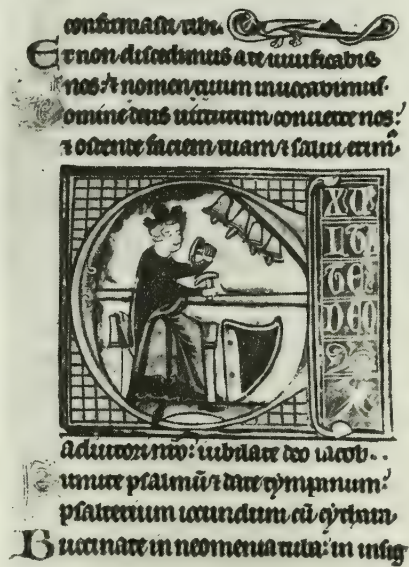
Fig. 6

It seems doubtful whether the symbolism is also represented in the initial illuminations, which show not only the cymbala but also persons with string and wind instruments, as, for instance, in the Paris manuscript nouv. acq. lat. 1392, fol. 113ᵛ (*fig. 3*). These instruments do indeed represent the three classes, but they might be a partial interpretation of the instruments mentioned in the

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37 Genette Foster, The Iconology of Musical Instruments and Musical Performance in Thirteenth-Century French Manuscript Illuminations, Ph. D. diss. (City University of New York 1977), p. 37.

38 »Thou shalt praise full of admiration the divine wisdom in this case because this wisdom has created, like all else, also the human voices to praise him in number and in measure.« See Martin Gerbert, Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica sacra, vol. 1 (St. Blasien 1784), pp. 265b–266a.

text as well. Here the ordering symbolism of King David has been only partly used. Some suspicion is also called for of interpretations that assume pictured instruments to represent real ensembles. The exegesis cannot be used as evidence, because it is based upon an allegorical idea which is far from aiming at a description of reality[39].

An allusion to the ordering symbolism would be more appropriate in case of pictures like the one in the Oxford manuscript, Bodleian Library, Douce 50, fol. 265, showing King David twice, with the harp as well as with the cymbala (*fig. 5*). Both times the ordering principle is clearly represented. In the initial E in the Paris manuscript, Bibliothèque Ste-Geneviève, 2690, fol. 99[r], the harp has been added as a separate object (*fig. 6*)[40].

Now the question presents itself why the illuminators selected Psalm 80 for the illustration scheme of the cymbala. The answer seems to be closely related to the general illustration principles followed in Psalter illumination. At a relatively late stage – in England at the end of the twelfth century, in France at the beginning of the thirteenth – the initials of Psalms 80 and 97 went through a shift from ornamental decoration to figurative illumination. These Psalms have not been subject to the relatively prolonged development of the other initial illustrations, like those of Psalms 26, 68, 101, and 109, in which certain historical events from the Bible evolved into fixed illumination themes. The illustrations of Psalms 80 and 97 developed at a time when the evolution of fixed themes for most other initials was already finished.

An exception to the historical illumination theme to Psalm 80 is found in some English Psalter manuscripts. There the mention of Jacob in the first verse line of this Psalm has led to the presentation of some aspects of his life. The same is found in some E–initials by way of a mixture of the principles of historical illumination and word illustration. In the London manuscript, British Library, Add. 54179, fol. 76[v], for instance, Jacob's dream of the ladder to heaven – based on Genesis 28:10–22 – is represented next to the harp and the cymbala (*fig. 7*). However, in relation to the total number of surviving illustrations such themes are definitely exceptional.

Hypothesis: because of the relatively late moment at which the principle of word illustration was developed, the number of Psalm initials without a clear historical illustration scheme is limited. The choice of the presentation of the cymbala theme in the E–initial of Psalm 80 might be related to the opening words »Exulte Deo«. These praising words are, as to their purport, more adequate in connection with the ordering symbolism of the cymbala than the words »Cantate Domino« of Psalm 97. The word »cantare« might be connected more easily to the organ or the singing monk. Moreover, the choice of Psalm 80 for the cymbala picture was obvious, because the opening words of the other Psalms that would generally be considered for illuminated initials did not express the praise of God. In this way the medieval illuminators could express the symbolic idea of the musical ordo instituted by God in the initial illustration of the Psalms.

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39 See, for example, Percival Price, Bells and Man (Oxford 1983, repr. 1984). Price remarks, on p. 186: »By the twelfth century ensemble music with cymbala was more organized, as Honorius of Autun, a Benedictine writer on the arts, makes evident in a description of a religious service.« This statement is based on a passage in Honorius of Autun's ›De animae exsilio et patria‹ (PL 172, 1244D), »[. . .] organa fistulis, citharae fidibus concrepant, cymbala pulsu tinniunt«, of which Price provides the following translation: »The organ sounds together with flutes, cythars and lutes, and the cymbala bells chime out as they are struck.« I should like to propose a translation of the Latin which is, in my opinion, more apt: »Organs sound by the way of pipes, citharae by the way of strings, and cymbala when they are struck.« The text of Honorius presents the instruments that praise God. This corresponds with the contents of the text which describes the position of music in the medieval arts.

40 For other examples, see the following manuscripts: London, British Library, Ms. Royal 1.D.I, fol. 246[v]; New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. 102, fol. 84[r]; and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 50, fol. 265.

Fig. 7

Appendix

»Exultate« initials depicting cymbala

This list is based on data of ›The Index of Christian Art‹ at the Rijksuniversiteit Utrecht.

Place	Library / Manuscript / Folio	Musician(s)
13th century		
Amiens	Bibl. de la Ville, Ms. 124, fol. 83^r	King David
Arras	Bibl. de la Ville, Ms. 561, fol. 136^v	King David
Assisi	Bibl. Comunale, Ms. 1–15, VII, fol. 180^r	King David
Baltimore	Gallery Walters, Ms. 45, fol. 139^v	King David
Berlin	Staatsbibl. Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. Theol. lat. fol. 379, fol. 245^v	King David
Boulogne	Bibl. de la Ville, Ms. 5, fol. 187^r	King David
Brussels	Koninklijke Bibl., Ms. 2935, fol. 100^v	King David
Brussels	Koninklijke Bibl., Ms. 9961–2, fol. 57^r	King David
Brussels	Koninklijke Bibl., Ms. 14682, fol. 172^r	King David
Cambridge	Fitzwilliam Museum, Psalter-Book of Hours of Isabelle of France, fol. 89^v	–
Cambridge	Fitzwilliam Museum, Ms. 365, fol. 21^v	King David
Hamburg	Staatsbibl., Ms. In. Scr. 83, fol. 82^v	musician
Lausanne	Bibl. Cantonale et Universitaire, Ms. U 964, fol. 213^v	King David
London	Collection Thompson, Ms. 72, fol. 56^r	King David
London	British Libr., Ms. Add. 15253, fol. 185^r	King David
London	British Libr., Ms. Add. 38114–5, I, fol. 313^v	King David
London	British Libr., Ms. Add. 38116, fol. 89^r	King David
London	British Libr., Ms. Add. 47674, fol. 80^r	King David
London	British Libr., Ms. Add. 50000, fol. 125^r	King David
London	British Libr., Ms. Add. 54179, fol. 76^v	musician
London	British Libr., Ms. Egerton 2867, fol. 259^r	King David
London	British Libr., Ms. Harley 2839–40, I, fol. 303^v	King David
London	British Libr., Ms. Harley 5102, fol. 77^v	2 musicians
London	British Libr., Ms. Royal 1.D.I, fol. 246^v	King David
London	British Libr., Ms. Royal 2.B.II, fol. 88^v	King David
London	British Libr., Ms. Royal 3.E.VII, fol. 184^v	King David
London	Lambeth Palace, Ms. 368, fol. 66^r	David?
Manchester	Rylands, Ms. 117, fol. 99^v	King David
Melk	Stiftsbibl., Ms. 1833, fol. 92^r	King David
Munich	Bayerische Staatsbibl., Ms. Clm. 3900, fol. 103^r	King David
New York	Pierpont Morgan Libr., Ms. 94, fol. 77^r	King David?
New York	Pierpont Morgan Libr., Ms. 102, fol. 84^r	King David
New York	Pierpont Morgan Libr., Ms. 494, fol. 314^v	King David
New York	Pierpont Morgan Libr., Ms. 729, fol. 105^r	King David
New York	Pierpont Morgan Libr., Ms. G. 42, fol. 171^v	King David
New York	Public Libr., Ms. 4, fol. 203^v	King David
Oxford	Bodleian Libr., Ms. Douce 50, fol. 265	King David
Oxford	Bodleian Libr., Ms. Douce 113, fol. 196^v #	King David
Padua	Bibl. Capitolare, Ms. C.12, fol. 81^v	King David
Padua	Bibl. Seminario, Ms. 353, fol. 102^r	King David
Paris	Bibl. de l'Arsenal, Ms. 25, fol. 409^r	King David

(# = a wheel of bells)

Place	Library / Manuscript / Folio	Musician(s)
Paris	Bibl. de l'Arsenal, Ms. 70, fol. 215^v	King David
Paris	Bibl. de l'Arsenal, Ms. 120, fol. 139^v	King David
Paris	Bibl. de l'Arsenal, Ms. 274, fol. 55^r	King David
Paris	Bibl. de l'Arsenal, Ms. 279, fol. 27^v	King David
Paris	Bibl. de l'Arsenal, Ms. 280, fol. 286^r	King David
Paris	Bibl. de l'Arsenal, Ms. 595, fol. 19^v	King David
Paris	Bibl. de l'Arsenal, Ms. 1170, fol. 212^r	King David
Paris	Bibl. de l'Arsenal, Ms. 1186, fol. 105^v	King David
Paris	Bibl. de l'Arsenal, Ms. 5056, fol. 330^r	King David
Paris	Bibl. de l'Arsenal, Ms. 5059, fol. 244^r	King David
Paris	Bibl. Ste-Geneviève, Ms. 1183, fol. 163^r	King David
Paris	Bibl. Ste-Geneviève, Ms. 2689, fol. 124^r	King David
Paris	Bibl. Ste-Geneviève, Ms. 2690, fol. 99^r	King David
Paris	Bibl. Mazarine, Ms. 9, fol. 214^r	King David
Paris	Bibl. Mazarine, Ms. 15, fol. 255^v	King David
Paris	Bibl. Mazarine, Ms. 18, fol. 172^v	King David
Paris	Bibl. Mazarine, Ms. 21, fol. 256^v	King David
Paris	Bibl. Mazarine, Ms. 27, fol. 194^v	King David
Paris	Bibl. Mazarine, Ms. 211, fol. 117^v	King David
Paris	Bibl. Nationale, Ms. lat. 1328, fol. 101^v	King David
Paris	Bibl. Nationale, Ms. lat. 10435, fol. 98^v	King David
Paris	Bibl. Nationale, Ms. lat. 10525, fol. 175^r	–
Paris	Bibl. Nationale, Ms. lat. 15467, fol. 273^v	King David
Paris	Bibl. Nationale, Ms. lat. 16272, fol. 82^v	King David
Paris	Bibl. Nationale, Ms. nouv. acq. lat. 1392, fol. 113^v	King David
Philadelphia	Free Libr., Ms. Lewis 185, fol. 108^r	King David
Princeton	University Libr., Ms. Garrett 28, fol. 233^v	King David
Venice	Bibl. Marciana, Ms. lat. I.77 (2397), fol. 100^v	King David

13th or 14th century

Brescia	Bibl. Civica Queriniana, Ms. Psalter, fol. 66^r	King David
London	British Libr., Ms. Yates Thompson 18, fol. 104^r	King David
New York	Pierpont Morgan Libr., Ms. 796, fol. 75^v	King David
Paris	Bibl. Ste-Geneviève, Ms. 1180, fol. 175^r	King David
Paris	Bibl. Ste-Geneviève, Ms. 1181, fol. 189^r	King David
Paris	Bibl. Nationale, Ms. lat. 16, fol. 213^r	King David
Paris	Bibl. Nationale, Ms. lat. 179, fol. 263^v	King David
Paris	Bibl. Nationale, Ms. lat. 182, fol. 168^r	King David
Paris	Bibl. Nationale, Ms. lat. 198, fol. 276^r	King David
Princeton	University Libr., Ms. Garrett 36, fol. 69^r	King David
St. Paul im Lavanttal	Abtei, Archive, Ms. XXV.2.19, fol. 91^r	King David

14th century

Braunsberg	Bibl. des Priesterseminars, Ms. Psalter, fol. 146^v	King David
Brussels	Koninklijke Bibl., Ms. 9427, fol. 124^r	King David?
Cambridge	Corpus Christi College, Ms. 53, fol. 92^v	King David
Chantilly	Musée Condé, Ms. 1887, fol. 53^v	King David
Douai	Bibl. Municipale, Ms. 186, fol. 132^r	King David
London	British Libr., Ms. Arundel 83, fol. 55^v	King David
London	British Libr., Ms. Harley 2899, fol. 64^r	King David
London	Lambeth Palace, Ms. 233, fol. 123^v	King David
Longleat	Collection Marquess of Bath, Ms. 11, fol. 106^v	King David

Place	Library / Manuscript / Folio	Musician(s)
Malvern	Collection Dyson Perrins, Ms. 34, fol. 82^v	King David
New York	Pierpont Morgan Libr., Ms. G.53, fol. 73^v	King David
Oxford	Bodleian Libr., Ms. Auct. D.2.2, fol. 94^v	King David
Oxford	Bodleian Libr., Ms. Barlow 22, fol. 99^r	King David
Oxford	Bodleian Libr., Ms. Douce 131, fol. 68^v	King David (2×)
Oxford	Bodleian Libr., Ms. Douce 366, fol. 109^r	King David
Oxford	Bodleian Libr., Ms. Douce d.19(3), fol. 3d	King David
Oxford	Bodleian Libr., Ms. Gough Lit. 8, fol. 38^r	King David
Oxford	Bodleian Libr., Ms. Liturg. 198, fol. 76^v	King David
Oxford	Jesus College, Ms. D.40, fol. 110^r	King David
Paris	Bibl. Nationale, Ms. fr. 13091, fol. 153^r	King David
Princeton	University Libr., Ms. Garrett 29, fol. 367^r	King David
Princeton	University Libr., Ms. Garrett 35, fol. 82^r	—
Rome	Bibl. Vaticana, Ms. Urb. lat. 603, fol. 51^v	King David
San Marino	Huntington Libr., Ms. EL.9.H.17, fol. 133^v	King David
San Marino	Huntington Libr., Ms. H.M.1050, fol. 98^r	King David
Vienna	Nationalbibl., Ms. 1813, fol. 86^r	King David
Vienna	Nationalbibl., Ms. 2783, fol. 139^v	King David
Vienna	Nationalbibl., Ms. Ser. Nov. 2596, fol. 268^v	King David
Zagreb	National and University Libr., Ms. MR 159, fol. 246^v	King David

Augustinian Musical Education and Redemption in the Fifteenth-Century Caracciolo del Sole Chapel, Naples

Franca Trinchieri Camiz

List of Illustrations

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The Caracciolo del Sole chapel in the church of S. Giovanni a Carbonara, Naples, includes musical images worthy of note[1]. One of these images depicts, in the pastoral setting of a flowered hillside, an ensemble of two friars and an angel playing a clavichord, a set of five bells on a frame, and a psaltery as musical accompaniment to the silent prayer of a third friar nearby (figs. 1 and 2). This particular detail suggests actual instrumental usage in past centuries. In fact, the scene already has drawn the attention of the organologist Edwin M. Ripin, who cited this fresco as one

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Fig. 1

of the earliest depictions of the clavichord, dating it before 1435[2]. Edmund A. Bowles consequently included this reference in his checklist of fifteenth-century keyboard instruments[3].

The particularity of this fresco warrants closer investigation. To understand why this ensemble of instruments is even present in the pictorial decoration of the chapel, it is necessary to clarify the cultural and religious context that shaped this work of art. This means evaluating the importance of patronage, as well as the form and function of the Caracciolo chapel as a whole.

The chapel was commissioned by an important personality in the history of Naples: Sergianni Caracciolo del Sole, Duke of Venosa, Count of Avellino and Grand Seneschal of the Kingdom of Naples[4]. The early documents of the church of S. Giovanni have not survived, but the Naples Archivio di Stato does have the Platea, an eighteenth-century compilation prepared by an archivist who had seen the fifteenth-century archives (*fig. 3* is an eighteenth-century engraving of the chapel). From this we learn that Sergianni was granted permission in 1427 to build a chapel with burial privileges and to dedicate it to the Nativity of the Virgin[5]. The site of the chapel is

2 ›The Early Clavichord‹, in: The Musical Quarterly 53 (1967), p. 520 and pl. 1.
3 ›A Checklist of Fifteenth-Century Representations of Stringed Keyboard Instruments‹, in: Keyboard Instruments: Studies in Keyboard Organology, ed. by Edwin M. Ripin (Edinburgh 1971), pp. 11–16 (p. 11, no. 2, and pl. 2).
4 For details on the history of Sergianni and his family see F. Fabris, La geneologia della famiglia Caracciolo, ed. by Ambrogino Caracciolo (Naples 1966), pl. 41.
5 Platea del Regal Monastero di S. Gio. a Carbonara (Dell 'Ordine Eremitano di S. Agostino) in dove notansi la fondazione del detto Monastero e della detta Chiesa, Cappelle, Legati per Messe ed altro, Donazioni [...], AD MDCCLXII, Archivio di Stato, Naples, Monasteri Soppressi, no. 6079, fol. 24 and 25. See also Antonio Filangieri di Candida, La chiesa e il monastero di San Giovanni a Carbonara (Naples 1924), p. 43.

Fig. 2

Fig. 3
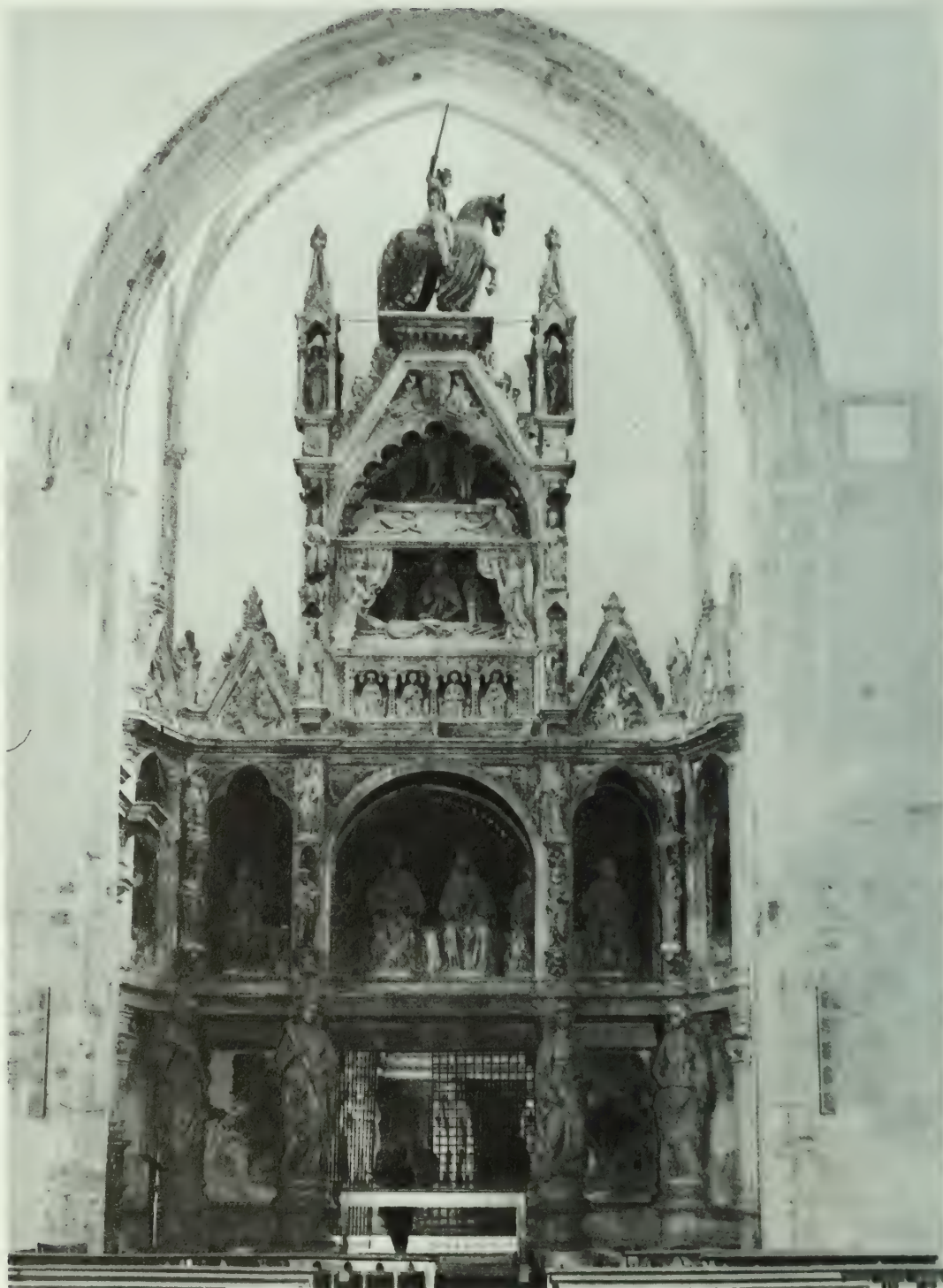
Fig. 4

highly prestigious. It lies behind both the main altar of the church and the prominent tomb of King Ladislaus of Anjou-Durazzo (*figs. 4* and *5*). A large iron grid separates the chapel from the rest of the church. Ladislaus's tomb was built in 1428 by his sister Queen Giovanna II, in whose service Sergianni had achieved fame, prestige, and a sizeable fortune.

Sergianni was brutally murdered in 1432, when the chapel could not have been very far along in its construction. Troiano, Sergianni's son, was left with the task of overseeing the construction of his father's tomb, financing the completion of the chapel's architecture, and organizing the decoration. An eighteenth-century biographer of the Caracciolo family specifically credits Troiano with having commissioned the painted scenes that include the image under discussion here[6]. We do not have any archival information as to when either the architecture or the decoration was finished. We do know that Troiano was imprisoned and his property confiscated right after his father's death. The dedicatory epitaph on Sergianni's tomb gives the date 1432 but also includes, next to Troiano's name the title »Duke of Melfi«, conferred on him only in 1441 after he had been reinstated in his full feudal position. Presumably he would not have been able to finance work on his father's chapel until after 1441 when his property had been restored to him[7]. We also know that the painter commissioned by Troiano was Perrinetto da Benevento, whose name appears on the fresco, and that he was present in Naples between 1454 and 1459[8]. We can thus assume that the chapel was finished sometimes after 1441, probably in the mid-fifties.

Did Sergianni or Troiano have particular musical interests? Not necessarily. A reading of the Platea document reveals that all work in the chapel was done with »the consent and will of the

Fig. 5

6 »E per render più vaga, ed adorna quella si maestosa Cappella fece [Troiano] per tutte le mura intorno dipingere in vaghissimi paesetti varj avvenimenti degli antichi PP. Eremitani di S. Agostino [...]« D. Isabella Morra, Cronologia della Famiglia de' Signori Caraccioli del Sole (Naples 1758), p. 47.
7 Filangieri di Candida (footnote 5), pp. 49 f.
8 Filangieri di Candida (footnote 5), p. 59. Luigi Serra, ›Gli Affreschi della Rotonda di S. Giovanni a Carbonara a Napoli‹, in: Bollettino d'Arte 3 (1909), pp. 124 f.

prior and the friars of the place«[9]. The prior and friars were members of the Augustinian Observance of Hermit friars who lived in the monastery attached to the church[10]. The patron could certainly perpetuate his name and personal fame by the material presence of an architectural structure which included a prominent tomb, a conspicuous display of family heraldry and family portraits, as, e. g., the depiction of Sergianni in the vision of the ›Coronation of the Virgin‹ (*fig. 6*). Precisely what was built or painted in his chapel, however, was done, we are told, on the advice of the friars. It was they who decided the particular iconographic program of the chapel's decoration[11]. Consequently, not the tastes of a Neapolitan feudal nobleman, but the intent of the Augustinians explains the particular character of the chapel.

Fig. 6

The decoration in the chapel includes the frescoed wall scenes that commonly appear in Augustinian churches. These include events from the life of the Virgin: the Nativity, Annunciation, Presentation, Coronation (*figs. 7–9*), and Death or Dormition (*fig. 10*) painted by Leonardo da Besozzo and Perrinetto da Benevento[12]. Marian iconography is often found in apse areas of Augustinian churches. The »coro« apse in S. Leonardo al Lago (*fig. 11*), a church attached to the Augustinian monastery of the Hermit friars of Lecceto (Siena) can be cited as an example. Here we can still admire the Annunciation, Presentation, Marriage, and Assumption of the Virgin, including a ceiling with a beautiful chorus of angel singers and musicians, painted by

9 »[...] esso Gran Senescallo aveva fatto edificare una sua Cappella magnifica a sue spese, contigua, e congionta alla nra Chiesa di S. Gio; col consenso, e volontà del Priore, e Frati di d. luogo«, fol. 24ʳ.
10 On the history of the Augustinian Observance movement see Katherine Walsh, ›The Observance: sources for a history of the Observant reform movement in the order of Augustinian friars in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries‹, in: Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia 31 (1977), pp. 40–67. See also P. Saturnino Lopez, ›Notizie sulle origini della Congregazione di S. Giovanni a Carbonara dell'Ordine degli Eremitani di S. Agostino‹, in: Archivio Augustiniano 56 (1962), pp. 269–275. The monastery was suppressed in 1799.
11 One could cite as examples any of the more famous chapels in Franciscan, Dominican, or Augustinian churches: the Bardi chapel in S. Croce, Florence; the Caraffa chapel in S. Maria sopra Minerva, or the Bufalini chapel in S. Maria in Aracoeli, Rome.
12 Giovanni Urbani, ›Leonardo da Besozzo e Perrinetto da Benevento dopo il restauro degli affreschi di S. Giovanni a Carbonara‹ in: Bollettino d'Arte 38 (1953), pp. 297–306.

Fig. 7

Fig. 8   Fig. 9

Lippo Vanni in 1370 (*fig. 12*)[13]. The portraits of Augustinian saints found in the Caracciolo chapel are present also at Lecceto.

The particular sequence of scenes that contains the detail of the music-making clerics and angel is also found in other Augustinian churches. The theme of the decorative frieze which runs prominently under the Virgin stories, is usually referred to as the »Thebaid«, a name derived from the Egyptian desert of Thebes, which had been populated in very early times by the first hermits or anchorites[14]. These scenes depict events from the lives of the anchorite saints, Anthony, Paul, and Jerome, and include many friars, all dressed in the Augustinian habit, being tempted by the devil and performing simple tasks such as carving spoons, weaving baskets, or constructing masonry[15]. This theme, so suitable for those choosing the ascetic monastic life, idealizing as it does the simple life, contemplation, work, and prayer, recurs frequently in Tuscany, where it was believed the Augustinian hermit life originated[16]. Augustinian cloisters at

13 Enzo Carli, Lippo Vanni a San Leonardo al Lago (Florence s. a.). The musical angels are mentioned by Howard Mayer Brown, in ›Trecento Angels and the Instruments they Play‹, in: Modern Musical Scholarship (Stocksfield 1978), p. 128. Another example of an Augustinian choir apse with Virgin stories appears in the church of S. Maria del Popolo, Rome. Here there is a Coronation of the Virgin painted by Pinturicchio, and other scenes from the Virgin's life depicted on stained glass windows designed by Marcillat.

14 Ellen Callman, ›Thebaid Studies‹, in: Antichità viva 14/3 (1975), pp. 3–22. The stories of these saints were known through a 14th-century account by Domenico Cavalca, Vite dei santi Padri (Venezia 1856). See Carlo Delcorno, ›Cavalca‹, in: Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani 22 (Rome 1979), pp. 577–586 for a study on the importance and diffusion of Cavalca's writings.

15 For a detailed listing of specific scenes see Serra (footnote 8), pp. 122–124, and Filangieri di Candida (footnote 5), pp. 57f.

16 Rudolph Arbesmann, ›Andrea Biglia: Augustinian friar and humanist (†1435)‹, in: Analecta Augustiniana 28 (1965), p. 167.

Fig. 10

Lecceto and Siena (S. Marta) had »Thebaids«[17]. The Thebaid often appears in chapels that are funerary in character[18]. In the Caracciolo chapel it appropriately offers a vision of an alternative way of life, the road to salvation for the soul of the active and violent soldier/feudal lord who is buried there.

Musical elements per se are not uncommon, of course, in scenes involving the Virgin, and it is therefore not surprising to see them here. Even though the Death of the Virgin scene is in very poor condition, we can discern in it »soft« instruments: a lute, rebecs, a viola da braccio, harp, psaltery, and a portative organ as well as recorders and loud shawms (*fig. 10*). Most of these instruments are appropriate to the mood of intimacy of the event depicted. In the Coronation scene, which is prominently placed above the doorway leading out of the chapel, we see a concert of angels where »loud« instruments seem to predominate: busines, shawms, trumpets, pipe and tabor, and hurdy-gurdy, along with some soft instruments: psaltery, cittern, harp (*figs. 7–9*). The quality of these instruments, for the most part, evokes the blaring and glorifying sounds of a joyous public occasion.

The Thebaid theme, however, does not usually include musical detail. The ensemble of two friars and angel playing a clavichord, psaltery, and bells is therefore a unique addition to the

17 Callman (footnote 14), p. 18, figs. 30, 3–6, 9.
18 Francesco Traini's 14th-century set of frescoes depicting the ›Triumph of Death‹ in the cemetery of Pisa is the most famous example of this. See Callman (footnote 14), p. 18 and figs. 1–2.

Fig. 11
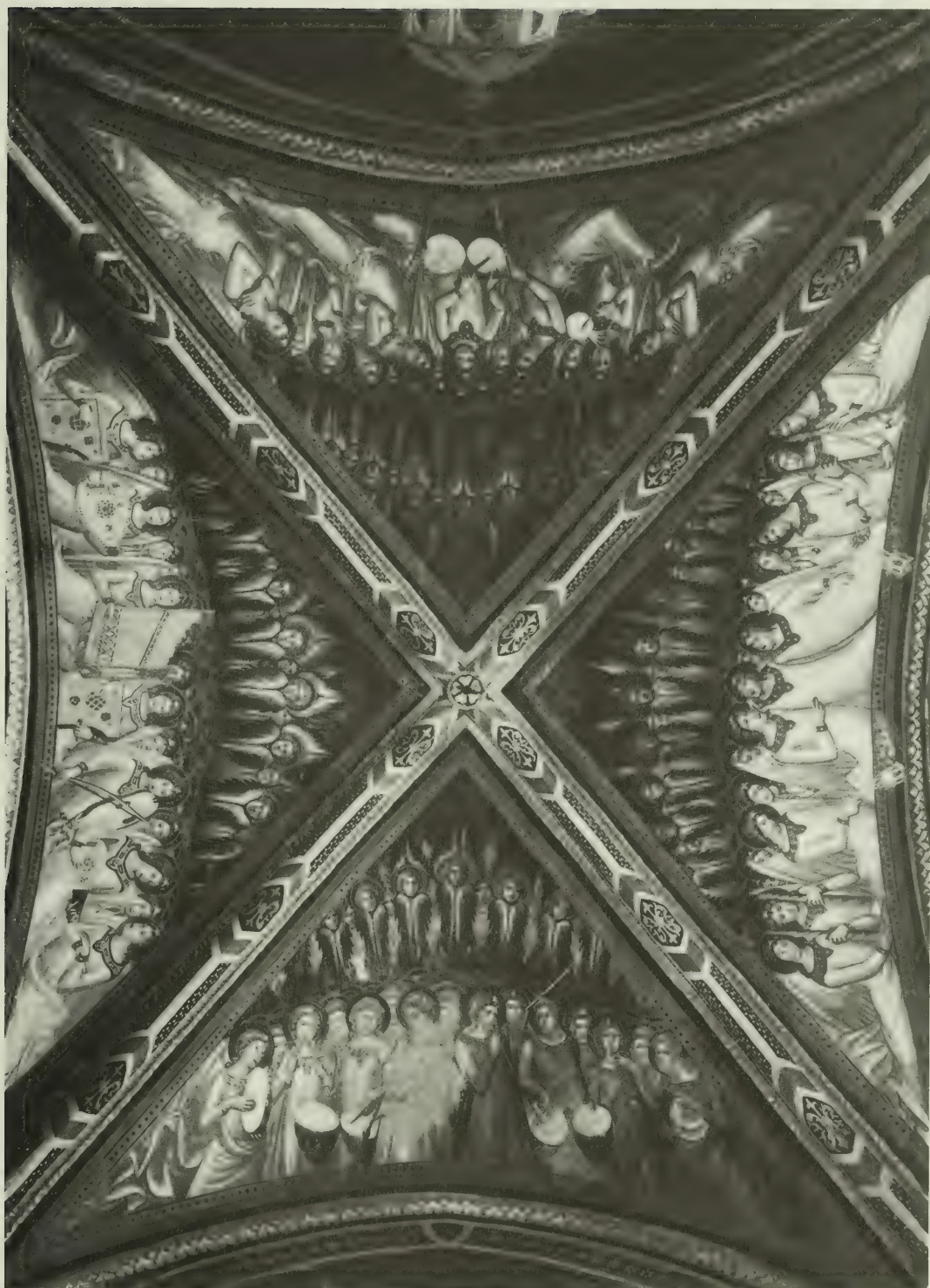
Fig. 12

Fig. 13
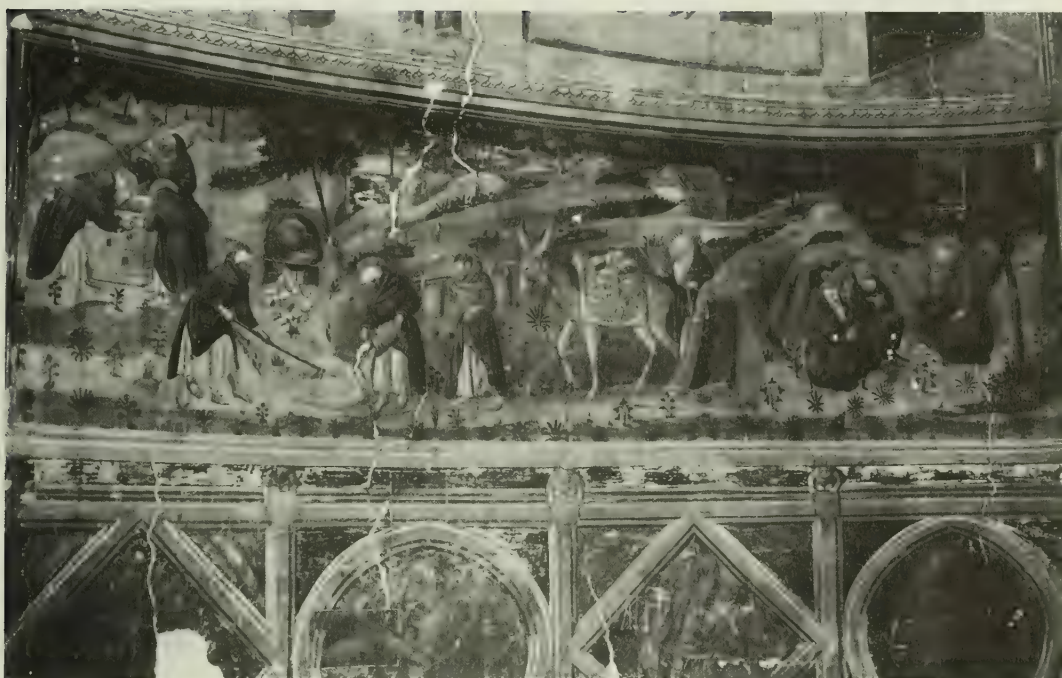
Fig. 14

Fig. 15

pictorial context in which it appears. This addition, coupled with the more traditional musical details in the Virgin stories, indicates that the subject of music is particularly important in the pictorial decoration of the Caracciolo chapel. One explanation for the prominence given to this theme may lie in the early function of the chapel itself. Although the original intention of the structure was essentially funerary, the large and prominent shape of the chapel – an octagon disguising a rounded domed interior easily visible from the church's nave (*figs. 5* and *15*) – would indicate other possible uses[19]. Evidence suggests that it may once have been a choir. The Platea document mentions that in 1535 a »new choir with seats for the celebration of divine offices« was to be installed above the vault or ceiling of the Somma chapel at the west end or entrance wall of the church[20]. This choir, described by a nineteenth-century guidebook as one of the most beautiful in Naples[21], no longer exists, and a blank wall has taken its place.

If the »new choir« was located at the entrance wall, where was the old one? Since Ladislaus's tomb (*fig. 4*) restricts the space around the main altar of the church, the Caracciolo chapel seems a likely site for the choir. In fact, some nineteenth-century references use the term »coro« in describing the Caracciolo chapel[22]. The chapel seems actually to replace the apse of the church, a
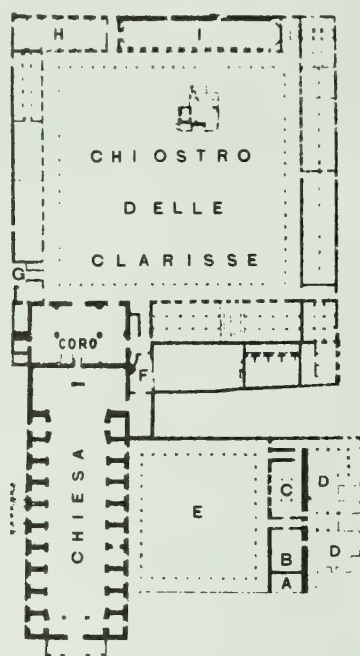
Fig. 16
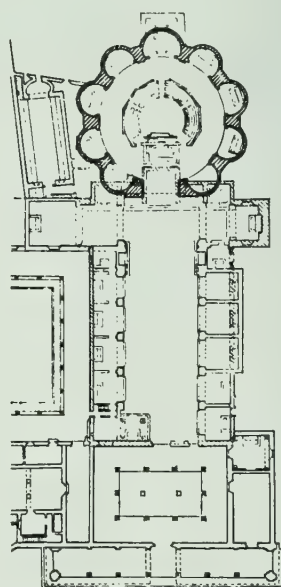
Fig. 17

19 For an important study on the architecture of the Caracciolo chapel see Charlotte Nichols's introductory chapter to her Ph. D. thesis (New York University, in progress) on another chapel, the Caracciolo Vico, in S. Giovanni. I am grateful to her for her generosity in sharing her knowledge of the church.

20 »[...] qualuogo detti R.R.PP lo concessero [...] a D. Scipione de Somma e suoi eredi [...] a farsi edificare una Cappella [...] ed ancora sopra d.a Cappella far costruire a sue spese un coro di legname ed intempiature sopra, e co' sedili a celebrarvi li Divini Uffizi. [...] D. Ippolita Monforte fu moglie de d.o suo marito diede [...] £ 800 per la costruzione del nuovo coro«, Platea (footnote 5), fol. 38ʳ.

21 Carlo Celano, Notizie del bello dell'antico e del curioso della città di Napoli (Naples 1856), vol. 2, p. 546.

22 »[...] vollero questi [the friars], che da Gennaro fosse dipinta la Tribuna, o sia Cupuletta, che soprastava al coro di essa«, cited in Bernardo De Dominici, Vite de' Pittori, Scultori, ed Architetti Napoletani (Naples 1840), vol. 1, p. 166 under »Life of Gennaro di Cola«, erroneously thought to be responsible for frescoes. »Da dietro l'altare entrasi nell'antico coro«, cited in Gennaro A. Galante, Guida sacra della città di Napoli (Naples 1872), p. 51.

feature not so singular given that other Augustinian churches had choirs placed in their apses, behind the main altar[23]. S. Chiara, a monastic church of the Franciscans in Naples, has an apse choir set behind a prestigious tomb and separated from the church by grilled windows in a manner very similar to that of our chapel (*fig. 16*).

The shape of the interior of the chapel with its circular groundplan could have been prompted by its funerary function since there is an important tradition of antique circular mausolea[24]. Circular plans have also been associated with churches and chapels dedicated to the Virgin, as the Caracciolo chapel is[25]. If the chapel also functioned as a choir space, that could provide a complementary reason for this form. Florence provides three architectural examples contemporary to the Caracciolo chapel whose choirs are situated in domed structures, both circular and not: the full-scale wooden model for an octagon-shaped choir to be placed under Filippo Brunelleschi's dome of the Duomo[26]; the square choir under the main cupola, also by Brunelleschi, of S. Spirito, a very important church of the Augustinian hermits[27]; and the tribuna of the church of SS. Annunziata (*fig. 17*)[28]. The new tribuna of SS. Annunziata allowed the choir to be a separate and more segregated entity behind the main altar as befitted the needs of a Mendicant Order (the Servites)[29], which were similar to those of the cloistered Augustinian hermits in S. Giovanni. The seating for the Canon Regulars of the Florentine Duomo, on the other hand, was more appropriately placed in front of the main altar in full view of the Duomo's congregation.

I tested the acoustics of the Caracciolo chapel, and found that my voice reverberated strongly, as could be expected from a single rounded volume. Singing is particularly enhanced by domed structures, as Francesco Giorgi had stated in his memorandum on the ideal church dated 1535: »I recommend to have all the chapels and the choir vaulted, because the word or song of the minister echoes better from the vault than it would from the rafters.«[30] The choice of a circular plan for the interior of our chapel would thus have been consonant with the kind of architectural thinking, present especially in fifteenth-century Florence[31], which considered domed spaces ideal

23 Apses at S. Leonardo al Lago (Lecceto), S. Agostino (S. Gimignano) and S. Maria del Popolo (Rome) are apse choirs. S. Agostino (Perugia) had a famous double-sided main altar painted by Perugino which faced the church as well as the choir behind the altar; see Fiorenzo Canuti, Il Perugino (Siena 1931), vol. 1, p. 210f. Many Augustinian churches have been completely remodeled or actually destroyed; it is difficult, therefore, to make a systematic survey of the placement of choirs in the 15th century. Usually choirs were placed in front of the main altar, as we can still see in the Franciscan church of S. Maria dei Frari in Venice. A Counter-Reformation preference for full visibility of the main altar explains why many choirs were removed from their original site in front to the back of the altar. See Marcia B. Hall, Renovation and Counter-Reformation: Vasari and Duke Cosimo in Sta Maria Novella and Sta Croce 1565–1577 (Oxford 1979), pp. 2–5 (= Oxford-Warburg Studies).
24 Richard Krautheimer, Studies in Early Christian, Medieval, and Renaissance Art (New York and London 1969), pp. 131–141.
25 ibidem, »Sancta Maria Rotunda«, pp. 107–114.
26 Beverly Louise Brown, ›The Patronage and Building History of the Tribuna of SS. Annunziata in Florence: a Reappraisal in Light of New Documentation‹, in: Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz 25 (1981), p. 81.
27 The old choir, destroyed in 1600, is seen under the dome of the church in a drawing. See Marcia B. Hall, ›The Ponte in S. Maria Novella: The Problem of the Rood Screen in Italy‹, in: Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes (1974), p. 169 and pl. 37b.
28 Brown (footnote 26), pp. 59–146.
29 Although created in a later religious context, the well-known church of S. Giorgio Maggiore, Venice, begun in 1566 by Palladio, has an important isolated (Benedictine) monks' choir in back of the altar and separated from it by a screen of columns. See Peter Murray, ›Palladio's Churches‹, in: Arte in Europa. Studi di storia dell'arte in onore di Edoardo Arslan (Milano 1966), pp. 652f.
30 The memorandum for the church of S. Francesco della Vigna, Venice, is quoted in Rudolf Wittkower, Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism (London 1962), p. 156.
31 Charles W. Warren refers to the fundamental relationship between Brunelleschi's dome architecture in the Duomo

choir sites. The particularly Brunelleschian quality of our chapel's ribbed dome (*fig. 18*) would seem to indicate a close cultural tie between our Neapolitan chapel and Florence. Cultural exchange between these two cities was not uncommon: both Ladislaus's and Sergianni's tombs were made by Florentine sculptors (Andrea da Firenze and others) and, what is more important in this context, in 1451 the Neapolitan court singers actually performed in the Florence cathedral and in SS. Annunziata[32].

It is not unusual, moreover, for a funerary chapel to double as a choir site. The Beauchamp chapel of St. Mary's Church, Warwick (England), built between 1442 and 1464, features a prominent tomb as well as choir stalls and an organ loft, which were projected for the chapel from the very beginning. This chapel is also renowned for its set of stained glass windows
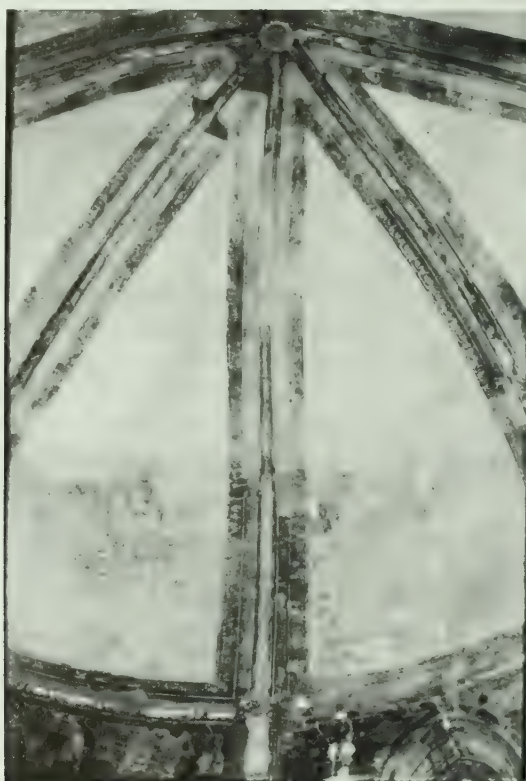
Fig. 18

and the structure of Guillaume Dufay's motet written in 1436 in honor of the dedication of the church as »a deliberate attempt on the part of Dufay to create a sounding model of Brunelleschi's architecture. [...] What confronts us is the very interesting possibility that certain aspects of this [the motet's] pattern may have been catalyzed in part by the architectural concepts of Brunelleschi and the acoustical properties of his awesome dome« (›Brunelleschi's Dome and Dufay's Motet‹, in: The Musical Quarterly 59 [1973], pp. 82 and 105). Wittkower raises the important question of the musical consonances in the geometry of spatial relationships (footnote 30, Part IV). What seems absent from the corpus of studies on Brunelleschi is consideration of acoustical elements in the particular preference for placement of choirs in domed areas.

32 Frank A. D'Accone, ›The Singers of San Giovanni in Florence during the 15th Century‹, in: Journal of the American Musicologicol Society 14 (1961), p. 318; Valente Gori, ›La musica alla SS. Annunziata di Firenze dall 'origine alla fondazione della cappella musicale‹, in: Accademia Musicale Valdarnese. Bollettino d'Informazioni 18 (1981), no. 1, pp. 15 f. Padre Gori is a member of the Servite order and a musician who for many years was associated with musical activities at SS. Annunziata. I am grateful to him for this information.

Fig. 19

Fig. 20

Fig. 21

depicting musical angels holding musical scrolls and a variety of instruments, including a clavichord[33].

If the chapel's architectural plan was defined by its function as a choir area, it should not be surprising that the images of the interior decoration relate to actual musical activity. A choir present in the chapel and singing toward the interior of the church would have faced directly the very impressive multitude of musical angels in the heavenly vision of the ›Coronation of the Virgin‹ (*figs. 7–9*)[34]. These may have reminded the choir of how painted musical angels often had counterparts in the Renaissance pageantry related to religious festivities[35].

Such concerts are traditional in Marian iconography[36]. A consort of friars and angel is not, and it conveys a meaning very different from that of angel concerts. First, the presence of friar musicians is already unusual[37]; their depiction with an angel is unique. Second, the particular

33 Charles F. Hardy, ›On the Music in the Painted Glass of the Windows in the Beauchamp Chapel at Warwick‹, in: Archaeologia. Miscellaneous Tracts Relating to Antiquity Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London 61 (1909), pp. 584–614. I am grateful to Julian Gardner for having pointed out this particular reference.

34 Kathi Meyer-Baer, The Music of the Spheres and the Dance of Death: Studies in Musical Iconology (Princeton 1971), pp. 151–154 and fig. 71.

35 A very interesting eyewitness account of a Corpus Christi celebration in the streets of Viterbo (1462): »In the higher part of the square in front of the cathedral was built the tomb of the glorious Virgin Mary and above the roofs of the houses the palace of the King of Heaven with God Himself seated in majesty and companies of holy angels and burning stars [...]. Then a boy representing an angel proclaimed in sweetest song the assumption of the Virgin, whereupon the tomb opened and a most lovely girl came forth upborne on the hands of angels [...]. Rapt with joy and singing sweetly she was carried up to Heaven where her Son, who is likewise Father and Lord, met her and kissing His mother on the forehead, presented her to the everlasting Father and set her at his right hand.« Other passages also describe angel »choristers« accompanied by the »melodious harmony of musical instruments«. See Memoirs of a Renaissance Pope. The Commentaries of Pius II: An Abridgement (New York 1959), pp. 268, 264f. The church of S. Agostino, Rome, has records for payment, March 1511, in honor of a Marian festivity, to musicians playing a combination of »soft« and »loud« instruments: »a quelli che intervennero a sonar quando se aprì la Nostra Donna cioè uno con el arpa, un tamburo, una piffara et un cembolo e dui rebechine, bolognine sessanta e a quattro trombette bolognine quindeci« [to those who played at the unveiling of Our Lady, and that is, one with a harp, a drum, a piffara, and a cembolo and two rebecs, 60 bolognine, and to four trumpets, 15 bolognine], quoted in Arnaldo Morelli, ›Musica e Musicisti in S. Agostino a Roma dal Quattrocento al Settecento‹, in: Musica e Musicisti nel Lazio. Lunario Romano 1986 (Rome 1985), p. 328. For an interesting 18th-century reference to wandering minstrels playing a bagpipe, a shawm in combination with harp, and other string instruments for festivities in honor of the Madonna in Naples, see Roberto Leydi and Febo Guizzi, ›L'arpa portativa popolare, in Italia, tra il XVIII e il XIX secolo‹, in: Strumenti musicali e tradizioni popolari in Italia. Collana di Etnomusicologia 5 (Rome 1985), p. 112. For the use of the harp among trecento giullari/minstrels and its appearance in angel concerts see Howard Mayer Brown, ›The Trecento Harp‹, in: Studies in the Performance of Late Mediaeval Music, ed. by Stanley Boorman (Cambridge 1983), pp. 35–73. One tournament held in 1423 in the square of S. Giovanni a Carbonara included wooden towers with »certi Angioli che andavano sonando e cantando«. In a miracle play of 1506 in honor of Christ's Nativity presented in the church of S. Lorenzo (Naples) »sopra la tribuna era ordinato un celo et certi Angeli che cantavano et sonavano si anchi in quello loco dove è la musica et si predica più talami« (Francesco Torraca, Studi di storia letteraria napoletana [Livorno 1884], pp. 9 and 19). See Isabel Pope, ›La musique Espagnole à la cour de Naples dans la seconde moitié du XVe siècle‹, in: Musique et poésie au XVIe siècle (Paris 1954), p. 37.

36 Reinhold Hammerstein, Die Musik der Engel (Munich 1962), pp. 232–235. Emanuel Winternitz, ›On Angel Concerts in the 15th Century: A Critical Approach to Realism and Symbolism in Sacred Painting‹, in: Musical Instruments and Their Symbolism in Western Art (New Haven and London ²1979), pp. 137–149. Howard Mayer Brown, ›Catalogus. A Corpus of Trecento Pictures with Musical Subject Matter‹, in: Imago Musicae I (1984), pp. 189–243 and following volumes.

37 The church's general condemnation of the use of instruments, with the exception of the organ, might explain the scarcity of painted references to monks playing instruments. An interesting aspect of this problem can be seen in the special rule issued in 1359 at S. Giovanni a Carbonara which prohibited contact between the friars and women, in particular when this involved »song, sounds, dancing, choruses, banquets [...] their ears having their fill of noise« (»[...] de forma collationis fratrum cum mulieribus, sinatis accedere, cum, ex nimia frequentia dominarum ad dictum locum concurrentium et cantus, sonos, tripudia, coreas, comestiones, potationes inordinatas [...] per quamplurium litteras aures nostras rumor impleverit«). P. Saturnino Lopez, ›De conventu Neapolitano S. Ioannis de Carbonaria. Notitiae ad eum spectantes, e registro PP. Generalium DD desumptae‹, in: Analecta Augustiniana 14 (1931/32), p. 358.

combination of instruments is neither practical nor encyclopedic in character. Because of the sound qualities of the instruments – the delicate clavichord hardly competing with bells – it does not seem likely they were played together. Neither do these three instruments represent the entire range of instruments important in this period. However, they do suggest an instructional aspect. Two of the three instruments, the bells and psaltery, often appear as symbols of Ars Musica (*fig. 19*), one of the liberal arts constituting the curriculum of medieval studies[38]. Ars Musica emphasizes the mathematical and proportional aspects of music. In one Italian image of Ars Musica, bells are played in tandem with an organ in order to indicate Pythagorean pitch relationships (*fig. 20*)[39]. In a well-known fifteenth-century miniature, bells are played by King David next to singers and a man holding scales, alluding to their importance in demonstrating basic laws of scales and intervals for the purpose of training and rehearsing singers (*fig. 21*)[40].

Whereas bells and psaltery together can refer to the science of music, the clavichord suggests the actual practice of music. A simple and inexpensive keyboard instrument, it made its appearance in the fourteenth century as a teaching and practicing instrument. A treatise of ca. 1460 confirms this function and stresses the clavichord's value as a study tool for the art of playing the organ[41]. This practice was still known to Sebastian Virdung, »dan was du auf dem Clavicordio lernest, so hast du dann guet und leichtlich spilen zu lernen, auf der Orgeln, auf dem Clavitzimel«[42]. The clavichord must have been an important possession for monastic choir schools; the SS. Annunziata archival records mention payments for tuning and repairing a »ghravicordo« or »clavacordo« (1481) as well as for replacing strings for a »malacordi« in use for the novices (1483)[43]. The monastery of S. Giovanni a Carbonara most probably also owned one, as our painted detail would seem to indicate.

The musical activity of our friar and angel ensemble thus represents both the theoretical and practical aspects inherent in the study of music as would be appropriate for a conventual choir school, so essential to all important monasteries. Music education was important also to the monastery of S. Giovanni, and it is not a coincidence that this monastery produced a »teacher« who played an important role in the musical life of Naples in the last half of the fifteenth century. In identifying the several choir books that had belonged to the monastery, currently in the National Library of Naples, Raffaele Arnese noticed on two folios of a hymnal the added entries »Paulus fr[ater] n[oster]« (*fig. 22*) and »me ma[gistri]«[44]. The registers of the Augustinian

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38 A 12th-century voussoir on the west portal of Chartres is reproduced in Evélyn Reuter, Les représentations de la musique dans la sculpture romane en France (Paris 1938), pl. 32. See also Nicola Pisano's relief for the Fontana Maggiore in Perugia (1276), reproduced in Pier Maurizio della Porta and Ezio Genovesi, Iconografia Musicale in Umbria tra XII e XIV Secolo [Exhibition Catalogue] (Assisi 1984). Page 27 and plate 3.2 can serve as examples. For the iconography of the Liberal Arts in painting see Jutta Tezmen-Siegel, Die Darstellung der Septem Artes Liberales in der bildenden Kunst als Rezeption der Lehrplangeschichte (Munich 1985). For other bibliographical references see Howard Mayer Brown, ›St. Augustine, Lady Music, and the Gittern in Fourteenth-Century Italy‹, in: Musica Disciplina 38 (1984), p. 26, footnote 3.

39 Mario Salmi, ›Gli affreschi del Palazzo Trinci a Foligno‹, in: Bollettino d'Arte 13 (1919), p. 148.

40 Jehan Corbèchon, Livre des propriétés des choses, Ms., London, British Library, Cotton Aug. A VI, fol. 457ʳ.

41 »Clavicordium est instrumentum [...] quo cum suo calcatorio datur magnum preambulum in studium organorum et aliorum, ut in isto instrumento bene e doctus illius per se accipiat scientiam; et est instrumentum vere musice tradens consonatiarum agnitiones«, Liber XX artium by Paulirinus from Prague as quoted by Jacques Handschin, ›Das Pedalklavier‹, in: Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft 17 (1935), p. 419.

42 Sebastian Virdung, Musica getutscht (Basel 1511), fol. E. This passage is quoted in Craig Wright, ›Antoine Brumel and Patronage in Paris‹, in: Music in Medieval Early Modern Europe, ed. by Iain Fenlon (Cambridge 1981), p. 42, footnote 9.

43 Gori (footnote 32), no. 2, pp. 15f. and footnote 79.

44 The 13th-century Beneventan script Hymnal, VI G 29, fol. 88ᵛ and 33ʳ of the Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples. I Codici notati della Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli (Florence 1967), pp. 143–145. Also see pp. 10, 11, 29, 31–35, 120, 124f.,

Provincial Fathers, both published and unpublished (see Appendix), provide further information concerning a »fr. Paulus de Neapoli«. His name is first referred to in 1457, when he is mentioned as a student at Padua[45]. In 1458 he was given permission to travel freely outside the monastery in order to appeal for papal and secular benefices, to join the royal chapel of the Duke of Calabria, to practice and excel in the art of music (see Appendix). These particulars about his life indicate that he held an important office in the religious community: he was a »magister« and the director of a monastic »schola«[46]. At the same time, the fact that fr. Paulus was granted permission to seek not only papal but other benefices, of a kind rarely granted to members of monastic communities, implies support on the part of an important secular patron[47]. In fact, the Duke of Calabria was Ferrante, son of Alfonso I, King of Naples. He succeeded his father to the throne in 1458, the same year that fr. Paulus was given permission to enter his chapel. Ferrante was certainly the most important musical patron in Naples, and it is in his chapel that we find, starting in 1472, that famous theorist of the science of music, Johannes Tinctoris[48]. We do not know the exact position held by fr. Paulus nor how long he was in the royal chapel.
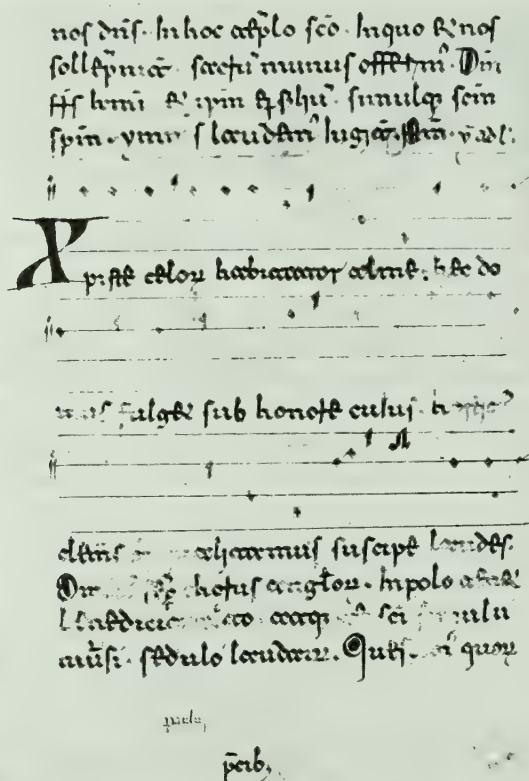
Fig. 22

127f. For a study on the chant books from Lecceto see Grazia Vailati Schoenburg Waldenburg, ›L'osservanza Leccetana e la genesi della libreria di coro‹, in: Antichità viva 22/2 (1983), pp. 5–26.

45 Registro Padri Provinciali, Dd6, fol. 245.

46 Arnese, see footnote 44: I Codici notati della Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli, p. 10.

47 I am particularly indebted to Pamela Starr who took care to clarify the complexities of 15th-century legal documentation on musicians' requests for papal benefices, the topic of her Ph. D. thesis (Yale University 1987).

48 Ronald Woodley, ›Iohannes Tinctoris: A Review of the Documentary Biographical Evidence‹, in: Journal of the American Musicological Society 34 (1981), p. 232.

The existence of fr. Paulus confirms that musical education was important to the monastery of S. Giovanni. Likewise, the instruments played by our friar/angel ensemble refer to musical training and learning. What is yet not clear is why the three instruments are portrayed together, since their combination does not seem to indicate either an actual musical performance or an abstracted classification. The combination does not relate to the traditional images of Ars Musica. These instruments do not appear to fit into the Augustinian definition of music, with its division »into its harmonic, organic and rhythmic parts«[49]; neither does the ensemble seem to hearken to the more traditional Boethian classifications of musica instrumentalis: string, wind, and percussion[50].

Most likely we are dealing with a mixture of symbolic abstraction and reality. After all, the »desert« of the anchorites is specifically called a »Paradise« in the fourteenth-century accounts; these also state that the monks »singing, praying, and reading, always thanking God, seem like choruses and hosts of angels and saints already in glory«[51]. The older hermit depicted to the right of our musicians (*fig. 1*) seems actually to be singing or chanting, and he could serve as a reminder that the ultimate objective of musical training, in the monastic context, was to come closer to God through the singing of His praises. Hymns and songs made St. Augustine weep because it seemed as if he could finally breathe God's »fragrance [...] at least in so far as human frailty can perceive it«[52]. Hence they were the appropriate means of addressing God. The monks sang as part of their daily liturgical routine[53] and in this activity they came close to being like angelic choruses[54].

Our monks, however, are depicted playing instruments rather than singing, and the instruments they play are real and function both theoretically and practically for the preparation of those who will sing. Moreover, the three instruments together suggest that music as a teaching tool, in the best of Boethian traditions, depends on the juxtaposition of the speculative aspects implied in the science of music (bells and psaltery) to the actual practice of an instrument – in this case, the newly developed clavichord. The presence of an angel with a psaltery, an instrument connected with King David, author of the psalms, reinforces the notion that playing music, like singing, brings the monks who practice it closer to God.

It is also important to note that here in the Caracciolo chapel, unlike any other Thebaid representation, music is equated with the more humble manual tasks of making baskets, carving spoons, building, etc. Music has become essential to the monastic life as it had never been before. And the prominence given to music as an intellectual concern seems to coincide with the Augustinian encouragement given to the fusion of monastic asceticism and learned studies in those same years[55].

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49 For an important study on the Augustinian definition of music and its relation to 14th-century representations of the art of music see Howard Mayer Brown (footnote 38), p. 26.

50 ibidem, p. 26.

51 Cavalca (footnote 14), p. 38; »erano in quel monte molti Monasterj pieni di Monaci, li quali cantandi, orando e leggendo, sempre Dio ringraziando, parea che fossero cori e schiere d'angioli e di santi già glorificati«, p. 77.

52 Confessions (Harmondsworth 1961), p. 192.

53 For regulations on the singing of the »uffizi che vanno cantati in nota e in tono e quelli che vanno semplicemente recitati« in other 15th-century Augustinian monasteries in northern Italy, see documents published by Maria Luisa Gatto Perer in: Umanesimo a Milano. L'Osservanza Agostiniana dell'Incoronata (Milano 1980; = Arte Lombarda), p. 233.

54 Filangieri di Candida (footnote 5) had stated that the »musical concert perhaps symbolizes harmony between the will of God, represented by the angel, and the hermitic life«, p. 58.

55 Katherine Walsh, ›Augustinian Observance in Siena in the Age of S. Caterina and S. Bernardino‹, in: Atti del simposio internazionale Cateriniano Bernardiniano (Siena 1980), pp. 941–946. The monastery of S. Giovanni was an important center of learning: the academy, founded in 1458 by the Neapolitan humanist Pontano, met in its cloisters, and in the

The didactic and ennobling qualities of music have become important to the monks; the specific reference to music in the narrative sequence which idealizes life in the desert, a symbolic prefiguration of paradise and eternal life, is evidence of this. Music can also have, therefore, an important role in the basic human hope that death will also bring rebirth in heaven[56]. The need for personal redemption was important not only for the Augustinian friars but also for Sergianni Caracciolo, the patron of our chapel, who donated to the prior and monastery both property (vineyards and houses) and an income for the celebration in his chapel of »daily masses [...] for the welfare of its founder, his predecessors and successors, and a solemn anniversary on the day of his death«[57]. We can assume that the »solemn anniversaries«, if not the »daily masses«[58], for Sergianni provided some of the usual occasions in which the friars exercised their musical training. Sergianni's hope for personal salvation was then well served by a structure that actually housed the men who sang for his soul as well as by a pictorial reminder of those very tools needed for their proper musical preparation.

    16th century, the monastery could boast a very impressive library. See David Gutiérrez, ›La biblioteca di S. Giovanni a Carbonara‹, in: Analecta Augustiniana 29 (1966), pp. 59–212.

56 Winternitz had already raised the problem of symbolic meanings, different in kind from those in our chapel, in the presence of musical references in a late 15th-century burial chapel in Florence. ›Muses and Music in a Burial Chapel‹, in: Musical Instruments and Their Symbolism in Western Art (New Haven and London ²1979), pp. 178–181. The angel vision of the Coronation of the Virgin and its angel concert is an even more important element in this basic search for redemption that permeates the decoration of the whole chapel.

57 »e dono al nr. Mon. alcuni Orti et Case Viti a Carbonara, e al Pr. del d. nr. Mon. in riguardo di d. donazione e beneficenza, ed anche come fondatore di d. luogo, si offersero a Messe, ed orazioni p. d. Fondatore e suoi eredi, e promisero celebrare una speciale Messa quotidianam in d. Cappella per la salute di esso Fondatore, e suoi Predecessori, e successori, ed un Solenne Anniversario nel giorno della morte di d. Fondatore, per lo quale Anniv. esso Fondatore promise, dare un annua Speciale rendita«, fol. 24ᵛ.

58 The 15th-century donations documented by the Platea (footnote 5) do not specify singing; the later bequests of the 16th and 17th centuries do, on the other hand, refer to »missam cantata« or »anniversari cantati«, etc. (fol. 150ʳ and 87ʳ).

Appendix*

Unpublished references to fr. »Paulo de Neapoli« in the Registro Padri Provinciali Generalium Dd6, fol. 248ʳ (Augustinian Order Archives, S. Monica, Rome):

»1458, die XII madii

Concessimus licentiam fratri Paulo de Neapoli quod possit impetrare quodcumque beneficium cum cura et sine cura tam in curia romana quam in quacumque alia et hoc ut possit suvenire indigentiam matris et fratruum suorum qui sunt infantes recomendantes [...]«

12 May 1458

We have granted leave to Brother Paul of Naples so that he may petition for any benefice whatsoever, with cure or without cure, either in the Roman curia or anywhere else so that he can relieve the poverty of his mother and brothers, who are children recommending [...]

»1458, 8 iunii

Concessimus licentiam fratri Paulo de Neapoli quod possit ire predicatum per ruca et loca in quibus vocatus fuerit et predicare bullas papales pro subventione sue matris et fratrum et quod etiam possit stare extra gremium ordinis et servire in aliqua ecclesia vel tantum dominus voluerit et accipere litteram capellanie regie maiestatis et illustrissimis ducis Calabrie et hoc sine impedimento nostrorum inferiorum servata tamen honestate ordinis et more religiosorum [...]«

8 June 1458

We have granted leave to Brother Paul to go preaching through countryside and towns in which he will have been summoned, and preach papal bulls in aid of his mother and brothers and also to live outside the bosom of the Order and to serve in any church that might be required by its lord, and to accept a letter of appointment to the Court chaplaincy of the Royal and Most Illustrious Duke of Calabria, and the above without impediment by any beneath us as long as both the integrity of the Order and the customs of its members are preserved [...]

»1459, die XV aprilis

Confirmamus omnes gratias quas antea concessimus fratri Paulo de Neapoli reducentes eas in unam litteram, videlicet quod possit impetrare sibi beneficium cum cura et sine cura a sede apostolica et quod possit ire predicatum ubicumque voluerit et quod possit servire ecclesie vel capelle cuicumque vel servire alicui domino spirituali vel temporali et assumere litteras regias sine impedimento alicuius inferioris salva honestate ordinis et quod possit tenere cameram in conventu neapolitano quam sibi concesseramus [...]«

15 April 1459

We confirm all graces which we have hitherto granted to Brother Paul of Naples, collecting them all in one letter, namely that he may petition for himself a benefice with cure or without cure from the Apostolic See, and that he may go preach wherever he chooses, and that he may serve in any church or chapel whatsoever, or serve any spiritual or temporal lord and accept royal letters [of appointment] without hindrance by any below us as long as the integrity of the Order is preserved and that he may keep a room in the Neapolitan convent which we had granted to him [...]

Published reference from Registro DD8 (P. Saturnino Lopez, footnote 37, p. 394):

»1489 IV septembre

Padue – Concessimus fri. Paulo de Neapoli ut possit manere in quodcumque conventu nostri Ordinis sibi occurrerit, cum bene placito patrum illius conventus, ut possit exerceri ac magis proficere in arte musice et

quod non discedat a conventu nisi prius habeat licentiam inscriptis ab illo priore et hortali sumus eum ut radeat ad suam congregationem [...]«

4 September 1489

Padua – We have granted to Brother Paul of Naples that he may remain in whatever convent of our Order will be opportune for him, with the consent of the Elders of that convent, so that he may be practiced and more proficient in the art of music, and that he shall not leave the convent without having first obtained written permission from the prior; and we have exorted him to return to his congregation [...]

Die musizierenden Engel des Genter Altars

Alexandra Goulaki Voutira*

Verzeichnis der Abbildungen

Fig. 1: Jan van Eyck (spätes 14. Jahrhundert – 1441), Genter Altar (vollendet 1432), Öl auf Holz. Gent, St. Bavo (Detail; Tafelbild links oben mit singenden Engeln). – Photo: A. C. L., Brüssel
Fig. 2: Jan van Eyck, Genter Altar (Detail; Tafelbild rechts oben mit Engeln als Instrumentalisten). – Photo: A. C. L., Brüssel
Fig. 3: Detail von fig. 2. – Photo: A. C. L., Brüssel

Reproduktionen mit freundlicher Genehmigung von A. C. L., Brüssel

* * *

Der Genter Altar ist ein vollkommen harmonisches, vieldeutiges Ganzes, das durch feinste Entsprechungen von Wort und Bild bestimmt wird[1]. Wie es bei Jacob Burckhardt heißt, ist in diesem Kunstwerk »ein Stoff zusammengedrängt, mit welchem man die Wände einer ganzen Kirche ausfüllen könnte [...]. Es war, wenn man will, ein grosses Tedeum, eine Darstellung des Grössten, womit die Kirche ihren Meister und Herrn feiern kann.«[2]

Lotte Brand Philip führt diese Idee weiter, indem sie nachzuweisen versucht, daß das van Eycksche Programm das ganze christliche Universum einbezogen habe[3]. Dies zeigen die wichtigsten Themen: Ewige Messe, Heilige Ehe (Verkündigung), Letztes Urteil, die denjenigen der nördlichen, westlichen und südlichen Portale einer gotischen Kathedrale entsprechen und die wie eine Predigt an die Gläubigen gerichtet sind.

Dieses anspruchsvolle Ziel, das Gott, Mensch und Universum nebeneinander stellt, wird durch die Zusammenfügung von feinsinnigen Gegensätzen und Auseinandersetzungen, die auf allen Ebenen der Gesamtkonzeption – d. h., Form, Stil, Durchführung – zu spüren sind, erreicht[4]. Merkmale dieses kompositorischen Prinzips sind: die extrem realistische Ausarbeitung der Szenen, mit Betonung realistischer Einzelheiten, die meist eine doppelte, symbolische Bedeutung haben; das scheinbar befremdliche Übereinander der großen Figuren oben und der kleinen unten; die Verwendung von Monumentalmalerei und Miniaturmalerei, die einerseits Plastik wiedergibt (Grisaille-Technik), und andererseits naturalistisch die Landschaft oder ganz getreu den Innenraum darstellt. So ist in dieses Ganzes »bereits eingeborgen, was sich später als Gattungen in der niederländischen Malerei verselbständigen und worin ihr späterer Ruhm bestehen sollte: Bildnis, Landschaft, Stilleben«. Was hier noch von Bedeutung ist, ist die Übertragung dieser bis ins letzte ausgedachten Konzeption in die damals neue Form des beweglichen Tafelbildes[5].

1 Ähnlich formuliert bei Lotte Brand Philip, The Ghent Altarpiece (Princeton 1971), S. 108. Zum Genter Altar allgemein siehe Elisabeth Dhanens, Hubert und Jan van Eyck (Antwerpen 1980), S. 72–121, mit ausführlicher Literatur auf S. 381 und 392–394.
2 Jacob Burckhardt, Die Kunstwerke der belgischen Städte (Düsseldorf 1842; Sämmtliche Werke, Gesamtausgabe, 1930) I, S. 132f., zitiert auch bei Herbert von Einem, ›Bemerkungen zur Sinneinheit des Genter Altares‹, in: Miscellanea Josef Duverger (Gent 1968), S. 1, 24 mit Fußnote 3.
3 Brand Philip (Fußnote 1), S. 108–115, besonders S. 111f.
4 Ibidem.
5 Zitat von Einem (Fußnote 2), S. 33.
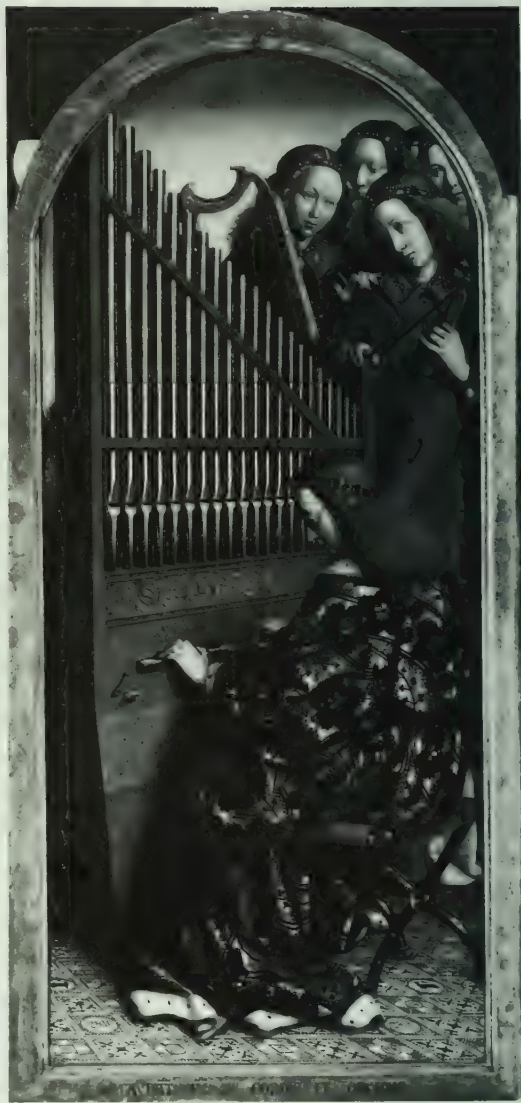
Fig. 1   Fig. 2

Es ist schon bemerkt worden, daß die Musik eine bedeutende Rolle in der Funktion und Bedeutung des Altars spielte[6]. Die nähere Beobachtung der Engelszenen (*fig. 1* und *2*) hilft, neue Elemente zum Verständnis des gesamten Werkes zu gewinnen.

Rechts von der zentralen Deesis-Szene sind sechs musizierende Engel dargestellt (*fig. 2*), die verschiedene Instrumente spielen: eine Orgel, eine kleine Harfe, eine Fidel[7]. Allein der Orgelspieler macht Musik, während die anderen aufmerksam auf ihren Einsatz zu warten

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6 Auf die Beziehung des Altars zur Musik hat schon Erwin Panofsky hingewiesen in: Early Netherlandish Painting (Cambridge/Massachusetts 1953), I, S. 221. Siehe auch die eingehende Analyse beider Engeltafeln von Reinhold Hammerstein, Die Musik der Engel (Bern und München 1962), S. 249–251; Robert Wangermée, La musique flamande dans la société des XVe et XVIe siècles (Brüssel 1966), S. 196 f., Farbtafel 3 und 4; Kathi Meyer-Baer, Music of the Spheres and the Dance of Death (Princeton 1970), S. 357–360.
7 Gute Abbildung bei Dhanens (Fußnote 1), Abb. 76.

Fig. 3

scheinen. Die Figur des Orgelspielers (*fig. 3*) ist besonders bedeutsam für die Bestimmung des musikalischen Momentes. Er drückt drei Tasten der Orgel: eine mit einem Finger seiner rechten Hand, zwei mit zwei Fingern seiner linken Hand, die, am Handgelenk gebogen, nach unten fällt. Sicher spielt er keine »schnelle« Melodie, denn dies wäre bei dem tiefliegenden Schwerpunkt des Handgelenkes unmöglich; es handelt sich auch nicht um ein »Moderato«-Stück, sondern um einen gehaltenen Akkord, der sehr wahrscheinlich als Schluß eines musikalischen Satzes zu identifizieren ist. Außer dem gehaltenen Akkord sprechen dafür noch: der gebogene Rücken des Orgelspielers und sein gesenkter Blick, der nicht gerade auf die Finger, sondern in die Leere vor den Tasten der Orgel gerichtet zu sein scheint. Die Bildelemente charakterisieren den typischen Musiker am Tasteninstrument, der so abgebildet ist, daß man den Eindruck gewinnt, er führe sein Stück zu Ende. Diese Beobachtung wird weiter durch die nachträgliche Veränderung der Position der Finger des Orgelspielers bestätigt[8]. Die Röntgenaufnahmen, die 1927 im Fogg Art Museum durchgeführt wurden, lassen die Unterzeichnung unter den Händen des Organisten erkennen (*fig. 3*). Die Finger beider Hände (besonders klar bei der linken Hand erkennbar) waren anfangs liegend auf den Tasten, ohne sie zu drücken, gezeichnet. Vermutlich wollte der Maler auf diese Weise zeigen, daß das Stück gerade zu Ende geführt war. Doch scheinen dem Künstler Zweifel gekommen zu sein, ob diese Absicht auch deutlich genug zum Ausdruck käme. Deshalb entschloß er sich, die Position der Finger des Organisten mit einem Akkord in

8 Dhanens (Fußnote 1), S. 70 und 108, Abb. 74; Brand Philip (Fußnote 1), Abb. 118; sowie Paul Coremans und Mitarbeiter, L'Agneau Mystique au laboratoire. Examen et traitement (Antwerpen 1953), S. 81 und Tafel VII (= Les primitifs flamands, III, Contributions à l'étude des primitifs flamands, II).

Übereinstimmung zu bringen, dessen Funktion als Schlußakkord außer Frage stand. Denn es ist möglich, nach den gezeichneten Tasten die gespielten Noten genauer zu bestimmen: Die Finger Nr. 4 und 1 (der Daumen) der linken Hand spielen eine reine Quint: do (c) – sol (g), während der 3. Finger der rechten Hand nur eine Taste drückt: mi (e). Verbindet man die Noten beider Hände, so haben wir einen dreistimmigen Akkord (do [c] mi [e] sol [g]), der auf den dreistimmigen Kontrapunkt hinweist, welcher am Anfang des 15. Jahrhunderts schon seit langer Zeit etabliert war[9]. Hier haben wir noch einen Beleg dafür.

Die musizierenden Engel, die hinter der Orgel stehen, ergänzen die Szene. Der Engel, der die Fidel hält, hört versunken die soeben verklingende Melodie: Er hat seinen Kopf zur Seite geworfen, er blickt in die Richtung der Orgel, er hat Falten zwischen den Brauen, er scheint in eine andere Welt entrückt. Dies kann man auch daraus ersehen, daß er mit seiner rechten Hand, die den Bogen hält, den Seitenpfeiler der Orgel anfaßt. Der harfespielende Engel, der zu seiner Rechten steht und die Versonnenheit und Unaufmerksamkeit seines Nachbarn gespürt hat, tippt ihm leise auf die rechte Schulter, als wollte er ihn daran erinnern, daß sein Einsatz bevorstehe.

Dieser Kontakt der Musikanten, der von dem Schöpfer des Genter Altars so »diskret« ausgedrückt worden ist, läßt den musikalischen Moment der Gesamtszene ahnen: Es handelt sich um den Übergang vom Orgelteil, der gerade zu Ende geführt wird, zum Streicherteil; die nächste Bewegung des Fidelspielers ist leicht zu erraten: Er wird die Fidel an die Schulter setzen und mit seinem Part beginnen.

Auf dem Gegenfeld stehen in prächtigen liturgischen Chormänteln die singenden Engel um ein geschnitztes Lesepult versammelt *(fig. 1)*[10]. Sie singen zusammen aus einem Notenbuch, während der vorderste Engel mit der Hand den Tactus schlägt[11]. Wie Karel van Mander (1604) bemerkte, »kann man an ihren Gesten leicht unterscheiden, wer Sopran, Alt, Tenor und Baß singt«[12]. Zumindest kann man nach dem differenzierten Gesichtsausdruck und der Mundstellung die Chorengel nach Stimmen in drei Gruppen unterscheiden, wie Reinhold Hammerstein ausführlich zeigte[13]. Weiter ist zu beobachten, daß niemand außer einem Engel im Zentrum in das Buch blickt: Die meisten sehen hingerissen ins Leere. Die Falten in den Gesichtern, besonders zwischen den Brauen könnten darauf hindeuten, daß sie eine bestimmte (hohe ?) Note für längere Zeit halten.

Aus der Tatsache, daß die singenden Engel einen dreistimmigen Akkord halten, der der letzte eines musikalischen Satzes sein dürfte, und der Orgelspieler im Rahmen des dreistimmigen Kontrapunktes sehr wahrscheinlich sein Stück zu Ende führt, darf man schließen, daß die beiden Engelszenen zeitlich übereinstimmen.

Es ist also ein bestimmter Moment, ein »instantané« des himmlischen Konzertes durch die Engel dargestellt. Der Teil des Chores ist zu Ende, die Streichmusik wird anfangen. Diese Auseinandersetzung mit den Begriffen »Schluß – Anfang«, die für den Inhalt der Szene

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9 Es ist nicht die realistische Wiedergabe eines Schlußakkords, da um die Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts im Schlußakkord die Terz noch ausgelassen wurde. Die Darstellung ist sehr realistisch, echt, aber nicht auf eine Kadenz bezogen. Zur mehrstimmigen kirchlichen Musik siehe Heinrich Besseler, Die Musik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance (Potsdam 1931), S. 173 und 199f. Allgemein über die Musik der burgundischen Epoche ebenda, S. 184–209.

10 Dhanens (Fußnote 1), S. 108, gute Aufnahme Abb. 75; Brand Philip (Fußnote 1), Abb. 117; Wangermée (Fußnote 6), Tafel 3.

11 Hammerstein (Fußnote 6), S. 249; Wangermée (Fußnote 6), S. 196.

12 Karel van Mander, Het Schilder – Boeck (Haarlem 1604), Band 3, fol. 199–203; zitiert bei Dhanens (Fußnote 1), S. 108.

13 Hammerstein (Fußnote 6), S. 250; sowie Tilman Seebass, ›The Visualisation of Music through Pictorial Imagery and Notation in Late Mediaeval France‹, in: Stanley Boorman (ed.), Studies in the Performance of Late Mediaeval Music (Cambridge 1983), S. 30f. Zur Dreistimmigkeit siehe Besseler (Fußnote 9). Die von Meyer-Baer (Fußnote 6) vorgeschlagene symbolische Bedeutung der Gesichtsausdrücke der singenden Engel, scheint mir zu gewagt zu sein.

bestimmend ist, wird auch durch die Aufschriften der Bodenkacheln der Engelszenen angedeu-
tet. Hier sind die Buchstaben A (Alpha), (Omega) und P (Principium), F (Finis) gemalt[14].
Diese Synthese von Gegensätzen gehört, wie oben angedeutet, zu der kompositorischen
Auffassung des ganzen Werkes.

Der eindrucksvolle Realismus, der die Engelszenen von van Eyck prägt, zwingt uns diese mit
der Aufführungspraxis zeitgenössischer liturgischer Musik in Verbindung zu bringen[15]. Dafür
sprechen die prächtigen zeremoniellen Gewänder der Engel, die flügellos dargestellt sind, die
Bodenkacheln, das geschnitzte Lesepult und die oben schon erwähnte Differenzierung des
Gesichtsausdrucks der Sänger nach Stimmen. Die himmlischen Chorsänger können also nichts
anderes als einen Messen-, Hymnen- oder Psalmsatz aus dem liturgischen Repertoire der Zeit
singen[16]. Weitere Hinweise, um die aufgeführte Musik konkreter zu bestimmen, bietet das
Thema des Altars selbst.

Es ist nicht zufällig, daß Ludovico Guicciardini im Jahr 1567 das Werk als »den Triumph des
Agnus Dei, das Opfer des Lamms Gottes und die Kommunion der Heiligen« benannte[17]. Es
handelt sich zweifellos um die himmlische Ewige Liturgie. Die Musik also, die von den Engeln
gesungen wird, kann nur mit der Vorführung einer Messe identifiziert werden, die anspruchsvoll-
ste musikalische Form der Zeit[18]. Man kann ferner behaupten, daß die Liturgie und zugleich die
vorgeführte Messe ihren Endpunkt (Agnus Dei) erreicht haben, da die Heiligen und Seligen in
der unteren Bildtafel des Opfers des Lamms vor dem Altar kniend, schon bereit für die Heilige
Kommunion, dargestellt sind. Nach dem letzten gesungenen Ton der Messe (dargestellter
Moment), beginnt die Streichmusik mit der Vorführung von Hymnen oder Psalmen. Welchen
Psalm im himmlischen Bereich die Instrumentenengel musizieren werden, wird durch das
Psalmzitat »LAUDAT[E] EU[M] IN C[H]ORDIS ET ORGANO« angedeutet, das auf der
unteren Leiste der Tafel angebracht ist[19]. Es handelt sich um den 4. Vers des 150. Psalms, in dem
zum Gotteslob „mit Saiten und Pfeifen" aufgerufen wird[20]. Es ist also sehr wahrscheinlich, daß
die Instrumentenengel diesen Psalm illustrieren, und zwar gerade am Beginn ihrer Vorführung.

Bis zu diesem Punkt scheint es, daß der Künstler des Genter Altars die himmlische Liturgie in-
soweit wirklichkeitsgetreu abgebildet hat, daß der Klang der Messe optisch sichtbar gemacht
wurde. Hiermit beginnen aber die hermeneutischen Schwierigkeiten, die mit der zeitgenössi-
schen Aufführungspraxis verbunden sind. Die Frage, die hier auftaucht, hängt mit der Praxis der
Kirchenmusik dieser Zeit zusammen und bezieht sich speziell auf das Problem der a cappella-
Aufführung sowie auf den Anteil der Instrumente im Ritual der Liturgie[21].

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14 Dhanens (Fußnote 1), S. 379.
15 Seebass (Fußnote 13), S. 30.
16 Zur spätmittelalterlichen Kirchenmusik siehe Besseler (Fußnote 9), besonders S. 231–239; Wangermée (Fußnote 6),
    S. 57–62 und 81–112. Craig Wright, ›Performance Practices at the Cathedral of Cambrai 1475–1550‹, in: The Musical
    Quarterly 64 (1978), S. 295–328 (im folgendem zitiert: Wright, Cambrai); idem, Music at the Court of Burgundy
    1364–1419 (Henryville/Pennsylvania 1979), S. 55–110 (= Musicological Studies 28; im folgendem zitiert: Wright,
    Burgundy); Seebass (Fußnote 13), S. 19, 20 mit Fußnote 1 und 2.
17 Dhanens (Fußnote 1), S. 88.
18 Zur mehrstimmigen Messe siehe Wangermée (Fußnote 6), S. 84–96. Besseler (Fußnote 9), S. 148f., 173, 199, 200 und
    passim.
19 Hammerstein (Fußnote 6), S. 250; Seebass (Fußnote 13), S. 31.
20 Zur Ikonographie des Psalms 150 siehe James W. McKinnon, ›Representations of the Mass in Medieval and
    Renaissance Art‹, in: Journal of the American Musicological Society 31 (1978), S. 23, Abb. 1b; Tilman Seebass,
    ›Prospettive dell'Iconografia Musicale: Considerazioni di un medievalista‹, in: Rivista italiana di musicologia 18
    (1983), S. 75f.
21 Wangermée (Fußnote 6), S. 214–217; McKinnon (Fußnote 20), S. 21–23 (Zusammenfassung der bisherigen
    Diskussion und ausführliche Literaturangaben); idem, ›Fifteenth-Century Northern Book Painting and the a cappella
    Question: an Essay in Iconographic Method‹, in: Stanley Boorman (ed.), Studies in the Performance of the Late

Die Aufführungspraxis der niederländischen Musik ist seit langem ein problematischer Bereich für die Musikforschung[22]. Auskunft oder Hinweise zur Musikaufführung der Zeit findet man a) in musikalischen Manuskripten, b) in Bilddenkmälern und c) in Archiven, Chroniken oder anderen schriftlichen Dokumenten.

Die musikalischen Manuskripte, die aus dieser Zeit erhalten sind, beziehen sich fast ausschließlich auf vokale kirchliche und weniger auf vokale profane Musik, während eine geringe Zahl von Codices reine instrumentale Musik überliefert. Meist wird in den Manuskripten mehrstimmiger Werke nicht notiert, ob eine Stimme choraliter aufgeführt wird oder nicht. Der schriftliche Text ist der einzige Beweis, daß ein musikalischer Satz gesungen und nicht instrumental interpretiert wurde. Ferner kann nicht entschieden werden, ob eine Orgel oder ein anderes Instrument eine Stimme verdoppelt, wiederholt oder begleitet[23].

Weitere Hinweise zur Aufführungspraxis der Zeit kann man aus der musikalischen Ikonographie gewinnen. Die Tendenz der niederländischen Kunst im 15. Jahrhundert, die irdische Liturgie als Vorbild für die Abbildung der himmlischen zu benutzen, ist allgemein anerkannt worden[24]. Die Maler der Zeit zeigen eine Vorliebe für verschiedene Instrumente aller Kategorien, und die Darstellungen von singenden oder musizierenden Engeln sind erstaunlich zahlreich.

Musizierende Engel sind eine ikonographische Konstante für Themen wie Himmelfahrt Christi, Himmelfahrt Mariä, Majestas Domini, Jüngstes Gericht, Krönung Mariä, Thronende Maria mit dem Kind u. ä.[25]. Diese Fülle von Instrumentendarstellungen kann sicher nicht unabhängig vom Aufstieg der Instrumentalmusik sein[26]. Die Instrumentalmusik bezieht sich aber im Mittelalter auf die weltliche Musik und kann den Vokalsatz eines Liedes oder Solisten unterstützen, oder dem Geltungsbereich der Tanzmusik gehören, die improvisierend von den Spielleuten (Ménestrels) aufgeführt wurde[27]. Trotzdem waren die zahlreichen Instrumentenengel ein wichtiges Argument und ein Beweis für die Theorie, die in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts und nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg merkwürdigerweise allgemein anerkannt wurde, daß in der Aufführungspraxis des 15. Jahrhunderts ein Zusammenmusizieren von Chorsängern und Spielern im kirchlichen Bereich tatsächlich vorkam[28].

Neuere ikonographische Untersuchungen, besonders die Arbeit von James W. McKinnon über die Messedarstellungen im Mittelalter und in der Renaissance, isolieren unter den religiösen Musikdarstellungen diejenigen, die mit der Aufführungspraxis einer Messe zu identifizieren sind[29]. Das Material besteht aus Illustrationen von Psaltern und Stundenbüchern des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts. Interessant sind vor allem die liturgischen Szenen, die Chorsänger und Priester im Inneren einer Kathedrale oder einer Kapelle während der Liturgie zeigen. An diesen Darstellun-

Mediaeval Music (Cambridge 1983), S. 1–17, besonders S. 15–17 (im folgendem zitiert: McKinnon, a cappella Question).

22 Die Diskussion begann unter deutschen Musikforschern um 1910/1920. Darüber siehe McKinnon (Fußnote 20), S. 21 f., mit ausführlicher Literatur.

23 Zu den musikalischen Manuskripten und zur Aufführungspraxis dieser Zeit siehe Gilbert Reaney, ›The Performance of Medieval Music‹, in: Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music: a Birthday Offering to Gustave Reese, ed. by Jan LaRue (New York 1966), S. 705 und passim; Wright, Burgundy (Fußnote 16), S. 16 und 115 f.

24 Jeanne Marix, Histoire de la Musique et des Musiciens de la Cour de Bourgogne sous le règne de Philippe le Bon (1420–1467) (Straßburg 1939), S. 5; Hammerstein (Fußnote 6), S. 239 und 248 f.; Wangermée (Fußnote 6), S. 194; Seebass (Fußnote 13), S. 30; idem (Fußnote 20), S. 85.

25 Siehe Fußnote 24 und besonders Hammerstein (Fußnote 6), S. 195–257; Wangermée (Fußnote 6), S. 193–197; Reaney (Fußnote 23), S. 705 f.

26 Hammerstein (Fußnote 6), S. 248.

27 Hammerstein (Fußnote 6), S. 247; Reaney (Fußnote 23), S. 706; Besseler (Fußnote 9), S. 196 und passim.

28 Siehe oben Fußnote 22.

29 McKinnon (Fußnote 20), S. 21–52.

gen ist zu beobachten, daß die Messe meistens a cappella, ohne Begleitung einer Orgel oder anderer Instrumente dargestellt wird. Trotzdem gibt es eine kleine Zahl von Illustrationen im 15. Jahrhundert, auf denen man die Präsenz der Orgel bestätigen kann[30]. Bezeichnenderweise erscheint die Orgel öfters bei Verkündigungsszenen, die in Illustrationen von Psaltern jener Zeit im Inneren einer gotischen Kirche stattfinden[31].

In der Tat ist die Orgel das einzige Instrument, das man im 15. Jahrhundert in vielen Kathedralen Flanderns finden konnte und das schon eine eigene Tabulatur (Notenschrift) besaß[32]. Außerdem beweisen Untersuchungen in Archiven, daß in Gent eine wichtige Instrumentenfabrik blühte, die unter anderem auf Orgelbau spezialisiert war[33]. Die einzige Kathedrale in dieser Gegend, die bis in das 18. Jahrhundert hinein keine Orgel besaß, war Notre Dame von Cambrai[34]. Dort war jede Form instrumentaler Musik verboten, während dagegen die vokale mehrstimmige Musik immer hochgepriesen wurde. Craig Wright bemerkt in seiner ausführlichen Untersuchung, gestützt auf die Archive der Kathedrale in Cambrai, daß diese Tatsache sich durch die engen Beziehungen erklären läßt, die zwischen Cambrai und der päpstlichen Kapelle in Rom bestanden, wo reine Vokalmusik herrschte[35]. Die archivalischen Quellen zeigen also entweder nur vokal aufgeführte Kirchenmusik oder Chorgesang mit Orgelbegleitung[36].

Nach den zeitgenössischen Notenschriften, der Musikikonographie und den archivalischen Untersuchungen zu schließen, wurde die Messe an den meisten Kirchen jener Zeit von Sängern mit Orgelbegleitung aufgeführt. Welchen Anteil an der Aufführung der Messe die Orgel hatte, ist eine Frage, zu der es viele mögliche Antworten gibt[37]. Erst im späten 16. Jahrhundert erscheinen auch andere Instrumente in der Kirche, und ein aufführungspraktischer Bezug von Sängern und Instrumentalisten ist von diesem Zeitpunkt an denkbar[38].

Aufgrund dieser Zusammenhänge liegt der Schluß nahe, daß die Chorengel des Genter Altars mit der Begleitung des Orgelspielers den Schlußakkord einer Messe musizieren.

Wie erklärt sich aber die Anwesenheit der Instrumentenengel im kirchlichen Raum, wenn es von der ikonographischen Tradition und von anderen Quellen her bekannt ist, daß in jener Zeit nur die Orgel in der Kirche zugelassen war? Hier muß betont werden, daß trotz der engen Beziehungen der van Eyckschen Darstellung zur irdischen Liturgie, beide Engelszenen im Himmel dargestellt sind, wie der himmlische Hintergrund eindeutig zeigt, welcher offenbar die überirdische Sphäre andeutet. Der Bedeutungsgehalt der Szene ist immer der Lobpreis Gottes. Die Instrumentenengel beziehen sich einerseits auf die frühere ikonographische Tradition der Scharen musizierender Engel, wobei die Instrumente in alter Weise als allgemeiner Hinweis auf

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30 Vgl. die Weihnachtsmesse aus den ›Très riches heures‹ des Duc de Berry (c. 1485–1489; Chantilly, Musée Condé Nr. 1284): Wangermée (Fußnote 6), Abb. 27; McKinnon (Fußnote 20), S. 38, Abb. 6c, und S. 44.

31 Vgl. z. B. die Verkündigungsszene aus dem Stundenbuch von Marguerite d'Orléans (nach 1426; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 1156B, fol. 31ʳ): McKinnon, a cappella Question (Fußnote 21), S. 6f., Abb. 6.

32 André Pirro, La musique à Paris sous le règne de Charles VI (1380–1422) (Straßburg 1930), S. 19–22 (= Sammlung musikwissenschaftlicher Abhandlungen I); Wangermée (Fußnote 6), S. 205 und 214–216; Reaney (Fußnote 23), S. 705; Wright, Cambrai (Fußnote 16), S. 323f.; Wright, Burgundy (Fußnote 16), S. 111, 115f. und 161; Besseler (Fußnote 9), S. 187.

33 Marix (Fußnote 24), S. 130; Wright, Burgundy (Fußnote 16), S. 113; Dhanens (Fußnote 1) bemerkt auf S. 108, daß bei einer Auktion in Gent im Jahr 1779 ein Portativ aus der Kirche von St. Bavo erwähnt ist.

34 Wright, Cambrai (Fußnote 16), S. 295–328, besonders S. 323.

35 Wright, Cambrai (Fußnote 16), S. 324–326. Es wäre zu untersuchen, ob die a cappella Messedarstellungen (vgl. McKinnon [Fußnote 20]) einen ähnlichen Bezug zur päpstlichen Kapelle in Rom haben.

36 Wright, Burgundy (Fußnote 16), S. 161; McKinnon (Fußnote 20), S. 48–52; McKinnon, a cappella Question (Fußnote 21), S. 16f.

37 Reaney (Fußnote 23), S. 714; Wright, Burgundy (Fußnote 16), S. 115f.

38 Pirro (Fußnote 32), S. 11; Hammerstein (Fußnote 6), S. 36f.; Wangermée (Fußnote 6), S. 216; Wright, Cambrai (Fußnote 16), S. 323f.; McKinnon (Fußnote 20), S. 48–50.

den Klang, ja den Gesang der Engel und seine Süßigkeit verstanden werden können[39], und das Musizieren mit ihnen nach Johannes Tinctoris die Freude der Seligen ausdrücken will[40]. Die Gruppe der van Eyckschen Instrumentenengel, die durchaus einer möglichen Aufführungspraxis entsprechen, wird andererseits vom Maler zur Illustration des Psalms 150 benutzt, nach dem im Himmel Instrumentalmusik von Engeln gespielt wird. Die Darstellung dieses Psalms steht nicht isoliert von dem merkwürdig wachsenden Auftreten von Instrumenten in religiösen Darstellungen dieser Zeit da[41]. Trotzdem hat die frühere ikonographische Tradition der mittelalterlichen Psalterillustration für die Abbildung dieses Psalms im allgemeinen andere Vorbilder, so daß es sich in diesem Fall um eine Neuformulierung handeln muß, die man der realistischen Auffassung van Eycks zuschreiben darf[42].

Es ist noch zu bemerken, daß die Instrumentenengel, im Gegensatz zu den Chorengeln, ohne Noten musizieren. Diese Tatsache hängt mit der früheren ikonographischen Tradition zusammen, ist aber der realen Aufführungspraxis der Zeit entnommen. In Szenen der Verkündigung, der Krönung Mariä, der Geburt Christi usw. musizieren die Instrumentenengel nie nach Noten, sondern immer auswendig, genauso wie bei entsprechenden Darstellungen von Spielleuten und Musikanten, weil ihre Praxis nach den Gepflogenheiten der Zeit in den Bereich der Improvisation gehörte[43].

Auch wenn ein gemeinsames Musizieren von drei singenden und drei spielenden Engeln dargestellt ist, was bei religiösen Themen häufig vorkommt, ist zu bemerken, daß die Sänger immer nach Noten, die Instrumentalisten immer auswendig musizieren[44]. Man darf hier sicher keine wirklichkeitsgetreue Abbildung der täglichen Musikpraxis sehen. Es ist aber nicht zu übersehen, daß einerseits die Dreizahl der Sänger die Dreistimmigkeit der Komposition andeutet, wie das Auftreten der Notenschrift auf die vokale, gelehrte, kirchliche Musik hinweist[45], und daß andererseits die Instrumentalisten nach der Aufführungspraxis der weltlichen Musik dargestellt sind. Doch ist die Improvisation der vokalen liturgischen Musik gar nicht fremd. Die Untersuchungen in den Archiven von Cambrai haben gezeigt, daß in den Handschriften von polyphonen Hymnen oder Psalmen eine Lücke oft das »cantare super librum« andeutet, d. h. eine improvisierende Aufführungspraxis, die in den Schriften des Johannes Tinctoris erwähnt wird und mit der aus England kommenden Technik des Fauxbourdon zusammenhängt[46]. Schließlich gibt es noch die Möglichkeit, mit Stimmen den Klang verschiedener Instrumente nachzuahmen[47].

Um zum Genter Altar zurückzukehren, scheint die hier vorgeschlagene Interpretation der Engeltafeln auch für das Verständnis der Gesamtkonzeption des Altars bedeutungsvoll; sie ist der Schlüssel, der uns erlaubt, die Beziehung zwischen Altar und Musik besser zu verstehen.

Es ist anzunehmen, daß der Altar während einer Messe geöffnet wurde[48]. Auf seiner völlig entfalteten Innenseite sahen die Gläubigen oben die Majestas Domini, unten die Allerheiligenli-

39 Hammerstein (Fußnote 6), S. 246, siehe auch S. 223 und 237f.
40 Hammerstein (Fußnote 6), S. 250.
41 Reaney (Fußnote 23), S. 706.
42 Siehe oben Fußnote 19 und 20 sowie Panofsky (Fußnote 6).
43 Hammerstein (Fußnote 6), S. 244 und 247. – Einige Beispiele von auswendig musizierenden Instrumentalisten bei Wangermée (Fußnote 6), Abb. 44, 46 und 51.
44 Hammerstein (Fußnote 6), S. 247, Abb. 125.
45 Hammerstein (Fußnote 6), S. 244 und 247; Wangermée (Fußnote 6), S. 196.
46 Wright, Cambrai (Fußnote 16), S. 313–322. Zur Bezeichnung »cantare super librum«: Wangermée (Fußnote 6), S. 38 und 49f. Zur Improvisation des Fauxbourdon: Brian Trowell, ›Fauxbourdon‹, in: The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians (London 1980), Bd. 6, S. 433f.
47 Reaney (Fußnote 23), S. 704 und 714.
48 Brand Philip (Fußnote 1), S. 114f., besonders S. 115 mit Fußnote 233; ihre Vermutung, daß der Genter Altar

turgie[49]. Höchstwahrscheinlich wurde gleichzeitig von einer Chorgruppe unter Beteiligung der Orgel eine Messe vorgeführt; so bekämen die musizierenden Engel in ihren prächtigen, liturgischen Gewändern eine lebendige, effektvolle Rolle innerhalb der ganzen Veranstaltung. Während der Schlußakkord der Messe noch zu hören war und die Heilige Kommunion begann (dargestellter Moment), wurden möglicherweise die (oberen?) Seitenflügel des Altars geschlossen, und der Chor fuhr mit den Psalmen fort, die wohl meist improvisierend (super librum) gesungen wurden, genauso wie in der Darstellung die Instrumentenengel improvisierend mit der Vorführung von Psalm 150 gleich anfangen würden[50].

Man muß also die beiden Engeltafeln als eine einheitliche Szene betrachten. Der Zusammenhang stammt aus der zeitgenössischen Aufführungspraxis. Es wäre passend, hier an eine konkrete, festliche Liturgie zu denken, wahrscheinlich diejenige, bei der der Altar von Jodocus Vijd eingeweiht wurde. Trotzdem erscheint eine solche Annahme nicht möglich. Das Konzert der Engel ist trotz aller Bezüge zur Wirklichkeit in den himmlischen Bereich projiziert. Es handelt sich um eine mit realistischen Mitteln dargestellte himmlische Liturgie. Die eingehende Untersuchung der Norrlanda Orgel[51] hat ebenfalls gezeigt, daß man es beim Genter Altar nicht mit einer realitätsbezogenen Wiedergabe der Orgel zu tun hat, sondern mit einer überzeugenden Schöpfung des Künstlers aus willkürlich kombinierten Elementen.

Dadurch läßt sich der Schöpfer des Genter Altars als ein bahnbrechender Künstler erkennen, nicht nur im Bereich seiner Technik, sondern vor allem in der Gesamtkonzeption des Themas. Es gelingt ihm, die irdische Liturgie durch ein bis ins einzelne durchdachtes System von Gegensätzen und Symbolen zur himmlischen Sphäre zu transzendieren.

Der Genter Altar hat vielen späteren Schöpfungen als Vorbild gedient, unter anderem dem ›Brunnen des Lebens‹ (ca. 1458)[52], dessen enge Beziehungen zur van Eyckschen Schöpfung allgemein anerkannt sind. Es ist allerdings bemerkenswert, daß weder dieses noch andere ebenfalls vom Genter Altar beeinflußte Werke in der eigentümlichen, realitätsbezogenen Darstellung der musizierenden Engel van Eyck gefolgt sind[53].

Die van Eycksche Darstellung der musizierenden Engel gewährt auch dem heutigen Zuschauer Einsicht in viele Aspekte der mittelalterlichen Musikaufführung. So kann bei ihm der Eindruck entstehen, er höre die Musik von Binchois oder Dufay[54].

ursprünglich funktionsmäßig mit einer Musikvorführung verbunden war, wobei die Musik mechanisch durch ein sogenanntes »Automaton« reproduziert worden wäre, ist jedoch nicht sehr überzeugend.

49 Panofsky (Fußnote 6), S. 211f., und James Snyder, Northern Renaissance Art (New York 1985), S. 92f., schlagen vor, daß das Altarbild sich auf das Allerheiligenfest bezieht.

50 Siehe oben Fußnote 46.

51 Edwin M. Ripin, ›The Norrlanda Organ and the Ghent Altarpiece‹, in: Studia instrumentorum musicae popularis 3, Festschrift Ernst Emsheimer, ed. by G. Hilleström (Stockholm 1974), S. 193–196; zitiert auch bei McKinnon, a cappella Question (Fußnote 21), S. 10, und Seebass (Fußnote 13), S. 31. Ripin erwähnt die Bemerkung von George Szabo (Metropolitan Museum, New York), daß der Schmuck des Genter Altars ebenfalls der Wirklichkeit nicht völlig entspricht.

52 Zur Datierung siehe Dhanens (Fußnote 1), S. 354 und Abb. 219. Anders Wangermée (Fußnote 6), Tafel 25; Besseler (Fußnote 9), Tafel XII.

53 Vgl. z. B. die frontal dargestellten singenden und musizierenden Engel von Hans Memlings Orgeltafeln zu Najera (um 1480/1490), die die Majestas Domini völlig symmetrisch umgeben: Chorengel singen nach Noten, Instrumentalisten musizieren auswendig, der früheren ikonographischen Tradition gemäß. Zum Orgeltriptychon von Memling, das sich heute im Koninklijk Museum in Antwerpen befindet, siehe Hammerstein (Fußnote 6), S. 242, Abb. 110, 111 und 112; Wangermée (Fußnote 6), Tafel 68 und 69; Besseler (Fußnote 9), Tafel XV a, b, c, und Emanuel Winternitz, ›On Angel Concerts in the 15th Century: A Critical Approach to Realism and Symbolism in Sacred Painting‹, in: The Musical Quarterly 49 (1963), S. 450–463.

54 Vgl. Seebass (Fußnote 20), S. 85f.

Es scheint selbstverständlich zu sein, daß ein so kompliziertes Ganzes, das zahllose Hinweise auf die mittelalterliche Theologie enthält, nicht ohne Hilfe von mehreren Fachleuten und Gelehrten jener Zeit entstanden sein kann. Die Übermalung bestimmter Details der musizierenden Engel, insbesondere des Orgelspielers, läßt auf die Mitwirkung eines Musikers schließen. Es ist nicht ganz undenkbar, diesen Musiker mit dem berühmten Komponisten Gilles Binchois zu identifizieren[55]. Er war zu dieser Zeit Musiker am Hof Philipps des Guten, während Guillaume Dufay sich zwischen 1420 und 1445 vornehmlich in Italien aufhielt, unter anderem auch als jahrelanges Mitglied der päpstlichen Kapelle in Rom[56].

Sollte das Portrait mit der Inschrift Tymotheos[57], ein Werk von Jan van Eyck, das im Jahr 1432, wenige Monate nach der Anfertigung des Genter Altars entstand, den berühmten Komponisten Binchois darstellen, wie Erwin Panofsky[58] vorgeschlagen hat, so gewänne der oben gemachte Vorschlag viel an Wahrscheinlichkeit.

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55 Über Binchois siehe Marix (Fußnote 24), S. 175–177; Wangermée (Fußnote 6), S. 116 und 121 f.; Wright, Burgundy (Fußnote 16), S. 163.
56 Marix (Fußnote 24), S. 150–152, 179–185 und passim. Vgl. die berühmte Miniaturabbildung in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (fonds fr. 12 476, fol. 98ʳ), die Dufay und Binchois nebeneinander darstellt: Wangermée (Fußnote 6), S. 71, Abb. 23, und Seebass (Fußnote 13), S. 24–26, Abb. 4, und S. 25.
57 Wangermée (Fußnote 6), Abb. 42; Dhanens (Fußnote 1), S. 182–187 (gute Aufnahme auf S. 183).
58 Panofsky (Fußnote 6), S. 196–201; Dhanens (Fußnote 1), S. 184; Seebass (Fußnote 20), S. 82–86, Abb. 6.

Identificazione degli strumenti musicali e natura simbolica delle figure nelle ›Adorazioni dei pastori‹ siciliane

Nico Staiti*

Lista delle illustrazioni

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* * *

Una delle prime raffigurazioni siciliane conosciute della nascita di Cristo sta in un bassorilievo che decora il sarcofago paleocristiano di Adelphia, del IV secolo d. C.[1]. Tra questa Natività e le Adorazioni dei pastori dei secoli XVI e XVII, che verranno prese in esame in questo lavoro, vi sono alcuni secoli nei quali il tema è pochissimo rappresentato nella produzione artistica siciliana. E' molto probabile però che questo vuoto nella rappresentazione del Natale sia solo apparente; è verosimile che tra l'XI e il XIII secolo si siano diffuse in Sicilia – come altrove in Italia – laudi drammatiche e sacre rappresentazioni. Va considerato, a supporto di questa tesi, che negli ambienti cristiani siciliani, proprio tra XI e XIII secolo, era determinante l'influenza della Chiesa Orientale, che si vuole abbia incoraggiato e sostenuto, prima e di più della Chiesa d'Occidente, la diffusione delle rappresentazioni sacre[2]. Fra di esse, con tutta probabilità, vi saranno stati dei drammi a soggetto natalizio; essi tuttavia, – osteggiati dalla Chiesa cattolica e, in alcuni casi, espressamente vietati da ordinanze e divieti locali – saranno ufficialmente riconosciuti e dettagliatamente documentati solo a partire dalle seicentesche descrizioni delle Casazze, drammi processionali la cui presenza sulle Madonie è attestata senza soluzione di continuità dal XVII secolo ad oggi[3].

Fig. 1

1 Anna Barricelli, ›La scultura presepiale in Sicilia‹, in: Antonino Uccello, Il presepe popolare in Sicilia (Palermo 1979, Flaccovio), p. 223.
2 Antonino Buttitta, Il Natale, arti e tradizioni in Sicilia (Palermo 1985, Guida), pp. 20f. e 37–42, e Barricelli (nota 1).
3 Giuseppe Pitrè, ›Notizie delle sacre rappresentazioni in Sicilia‹, in: Archivio storico siciliano 1, fasc. 1 (1876), pp. 155–167, e idem, Spettacoli e feste popolari siciliane (Palermo 1870/1913), pp. 99–123.

Fig. 2

Nei secoli XV e XVI scultori lombardi e toscani, stabilitisi in Sicilia, lavorano prevalentemente su commissioni ecclesiastiche[4]. Uno dei soggetti più eseguiti – ad opera, tra gli altri, di Domenico e Antonello Gagini – è la statua a tutto tondo della Vergine. Spesso il basamento poligonale veniva decorato a bassorilievo con scene di Annunciazione, Natività, Adorazione dei pastori (*fig. 1*)[5], Adorazione dei Magi.

4 Barricelli (nota 1).
5 Sullo zoccolo di una statua di Madonna in marmo di Antonello Gagini (Palermo 1478–1536), esposta nella Chiesa Madre di Bordonaro (Messina), è scolpita in bassorilievo una ›Natività‹. Un pastore suona una zampogna con un piccolo otre, senza bordoni. Lo strumento non è reso nitidamente e non è possibile vedere se vi sia un solo chanter o due accostati. – In una ›Natività‹ a bassorilievo, di Anonimo siciliano della fine del XV secolo (*fig. 1*), è inserito un

Dall'inizio del XVI secolo il tema della Natività in generale e dell'Adorazione dei pastori più in particolare sembra conoscere una crescente fortuna: se prima, relegata per lo più sullo zoccolo di statue della Vergine, essa veniva raffigurata solo come tappa di un sintetico iter mariano, ben presto divenne soggetto principale di grandi tele. Le figure di pastori musicanti si moltiplicano; gli strumenti, riprodotti con estrema attenzione, sono spesso quelli in uso ancor oggi in ambienti pastorali siciliani. E' degli anni intorno al 1530 un polittico di Sebastiano Niger (*fig. 2*), nel quale l'›Adorazione dei pastori‹, contornata da figure di santi, occupa lo spazio centrale. Un pastore suona un doppio flauto di canna; per la prima volta è raffigurato, in una ›Natività‹ siciliana, uno strumento ancor oggi usato dai pastori siciliani (*figs. 3 e 4*). Lo strumento del dipinto è più grande degli strumenti odierni; ciò è probabilmente dovuto alla necessità di accrescere la presenza scenica del doppio flauto all'interno della composizione.

Fig. 3   Fig. 4

L'apice di questo processo di sviluppo dell'Adorazione dei pastori – simultaneo a quello del dramma sacro – si raggiungerà, in Sicilia come in tutta l'Italia meridionale, tra la fine del XVI e la metà del XVII secolo: in periodo, dunque, di Controriforma.

Sostenitori e diffusori dello spirito della Controriforma furono, in Sicilia come altrove, soprattutto i Francescani (Conventuali, Minori o Osservanti, Cappuccini) e i Gesuiti[6]. E' ampiamente documentata, soprattutto per quanto riguarda la Compagnia di Gesù, l'opera di diffusione capillare dell'ideologia cattolica, svolta attraverso l'incremento e la riforma del teatro sacro, la diffusione di forme letterarie e musicali quali il poema religioso in ottave. I Gesuiti aiutarono e protessero gli ›Orbi‹, cantori e suonatori ciechi di cose sacre, i quali a Palermo si unirono in una congregazione intitolata all'Immacolata Concezione, per iniziativa e sotto la guida, appunto, della Compagnia di Gesù. Il sodalizio tra Gesuiti e Orbi continuò, tra continue polemiche e con alterne vicende, fino al 1860, data della soppressione dell'Ordine in Sicilia[7]. Il culto dei santi in periodo di Controriforma conobbe un notevole incremento, tendente tra l'altro al riassorbimento o alla sostituzione di culti popolari politeistici o di focolai eretici. La visione

suonatore di zampogna. Lo strumento, ad un solo chanter, ha un unico bordone che, attaccato alla parte anteriore dell'otre (vicino al punto d'impianto del chanter), poggia sulla spalla del suonatore.

6 Raoul Manselli, ›Continuità e ripresa del francescanesimo nella Controriforma‹, in: L'immagine di San Francesco nella Controriforma (Roma 1982, Quasar), pp. 17–19, e Vincenzo Abbate, ›I tempi del Caravaggio: situazione della pittura in Sicilia (1580–1625)‹, in: Caravaggio in Sicilia: il suo tempo, il suo influsso (Palermo 1984, Sellerio), pp. 43–76.

7 Elsa Guggino, I canti degli Orbi (Palermo 1981, Archivio delle tradizioni popolari siciliane), 2 vols.

della religiosità che i Gesuiti diffondevano era fatta di mortificazione, sofferenza, espiazione, martirio. La pittura gesuita controriformata è tutta permeata da un ossessivo gusto del macabro, dall'esaltazione, dell'eccezionale, dell'apocalittico, della morte. Fra le immagini che più rispondevano a questi concetti vi erano la Flagellazione, la Deposizione, il martirio dei santi. I drammi più rappresentati erano quelli della Passione; di essi sopravvivono ampie tracce in Sicilia e in tutta l'Italia meridionale. Un enorme affresco palermitano della seconda metà del XV secolo raffigura il Trionfo della morte. In un diario della città di Palermo della seconda metà del XVI secolo è descritta una processione che sembra tratta dall'affresco del secolo precedente[8]:

> »1657, a 3 di februaro. I reverendi padri della Compagnia di Gesù fecero una dimostrazione del Trionfo della morte con due carri e musica, uno tirato da vacche e persone che si battevano, e sopra Cristo in croce fra angeli e lanterne e fuochi, e stendardo della morte portato a cavallo, e persone con vesti di morte indosso; e l'altro da quattro vacche e genti in forma di varie potenzie. E 'l primo che appariva sonava una trombetta, vestito da angelo molto pietosamente.«

Il topos iconografico del Trionfo della morte dovette conoscere una notevole fortuna in ambito popolare, se ancora nel 1870 Giuseppe Pitrè[9] scriveva:

> »Pel giorno de' morti, 2 nov., ho sempre visto da molti anni in Palermo, in via Divisi, allo sbocco della Fieravecchia, una tela non molto antica rappresentante la Morte che fa ridda sopra persone d'ogni classe e condizione. Il quadro è esposto da una fruttivendola, ornato in varie fogge di frutte secche.«

Ben diverso, per lunga tradizione culturale e spirituale, era lo spirito con il quale Frati Minori e Cappuccini dovettero compiere la loro opera di diffusione e consolidamento della religione cattolica. Il culto mariano, da essi propagandato assiduamente, doveva coprire spazi fino ad allora probabilmente occupati da divinità agresti femminili; il culto dei santi, che pure si fondava su intenti assai simili a quelli dei Gesuiti, faceva però leva, più che su immagini apocalittiche, sul risveglio della pietà popolare.

Il Natale era, necessariamente, uno degli episodi della vita di Cristo (e, forse soprattutto, della Vergine) che meglio rispondessero alle esigenze iconografiche minorite e cappuccine. Peraltro, già dal XIII secolo la nascita di Cristo è uno dei temi più rappresentati nell'iconografia e nel dramma francescani[10]. E' famosa la descrizione del »tableau vivant« di Greccio (1223) ad opera di San

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8 ›Diario della città di Palermo da' mss. di Filippo Paruta e Niccolò Palermitano‹, in: Gioacchino di Marzo (a cura di), Diari della città di Palermo dal secolo XVI al XIX pubblicati sui manoscritti della Biblioteca Comunale (Palermo 1869, Pedone e Lauriel), vol. 1. – La medesima processione fu descritta più particolareggiatamente da Aguilera, Provinciae Sic. Soc. Jesu Ortus et res gestae ab an. 1546 ad an. 1611 (Panormus 1737), parte I, capitolo VII, pp. 171–173: »I primi attori a vedersi in iscena furono 60 uomini vestiti d'un sacco azzurro con torcie accese alle mani. Seguiva un coro di musici, dietro a' quali la bara del SS. Crocifisso cogli strumenti di sua passione, e di angeli piangenti intorno che l'adoravano. Succedeva a tal simulacro un lungo stuolo di 200 persone gramagliate di nero, che si battevano a sangue a lume di lanterne, e in mezzo facendosi flebili musiche di molti anacoreti; vedevansi per ultimo dodici personaggi sedenti su cavalli squallidi e magri, commessi di figure di morti e con la tromba, stendardo e tutti altri trofei letiferi che avevano attorno. Come chiudeva finalmente il tutto un bell'altro carro d'armi e di spoglie d'una tiranna vittoriosa donna, che tirato vedevasi da quattro vacche di pelo nero e guidato da un uomo vecchio, figura del Tempo, illuminato restando da lanternoni nella sua macchina, e numerosi cenci tinti di pece. Or qui sulla vetta stava in piedi la Morte che trionfava colla falce alle mani e il ferale arco a' fianchi e turcasso di frecce avvelenate, tenendo del pari a' piedi zappe e pale da cavar sepolcri. Ella intanto così baldanzosa traea di sé appresso, quali spoglie di sue vittorie, quindici personaggi incatenati colle mani avvinte dietro alle spalle, che figuravan Pontefici, Sovrani, Principi, ricchi e poveri d'ogni ceto e condizione al mondo. Meritò questa pomposa mostra, sebbene tanto funesta, l'acclamazione universale del popolo, in numero quasi infinito corso a goderla. Fu ella perciò appellata del *Trionfo della Morte*.«

9 Pitrè, Spettacoli e feste (nota 3), p. 83, nota 1.

10 Arnaldo Rava, L'apparato scenico negli offici drammatici del tempo di Natale (Roma 1940, Coletti), pp. 33–36, e A. Renier, Gelindo (Torino 1896, Clausen), pp. 206–208.

Fig. 5

Bonaventura[11]; lo stereotipo iconografico dell'Adorazione dei pastori (con la capanna al centro, in primo piano, la Madonna e. S. Giuseppe ai lati della mangiatoia, il bue e l'asino alle loro spalle e, generalmente, in alto a destra l'annuncio dell'angelo ai pastori) che si trova già nelle più antiche raffigurazioni di Natività, sembra cristallizzarsi definitivamente nella pittura umbra – a committenza francescana – del XIV secolo (*figs. 5* e *6*) e si manterrà praticamente inalterato fino al secolo XVII e oltre[12].

Le Adorazioni dei pastori siciliane conservano la struttura formale tradizionale, che è gia attestata nelle sculture del XII secolo e che, si è detto sopra, costituisce la »scena fissa« delle raffigurazioni natalizie, dal XIV secolo in avanti, fino ai nostri giorni. Tale »scena fissa« deriva probabilmente dalla scenografia dei drammi sacri natalizi, i quali – in quanto rituali »attuazioni« dell'evento sacro – dovevano essere costruiti su schemi narrativi e scenografici tradizionali, assai simili tra loro anche in aree geografiche diverse, conservatesi nel corso dei secoli. La scenografia

11 »[...] venne voglia di far memoria della Natività di Cristo. Per commuovere la gente a divozione, ordinò di far questa cosa colla maggiore solennità possibile che fare si potesse [...] Si fece apparecchiare la mangiatoia col fieno, e ivi fece venire il bue e l'asino, e fecevi venire molti frati e altra buona gente, e volle fare questa cosa di notte, e fu in quella notte bellissimo tempo, e ivi fu grande quantità di lumi accesi, e fu molto solenne di canti, di laude o d'altro officio solenne, che vi si disse per molti religiosi che vi furono, di che tutta la selva, dove questa solennità si fece, ne risonava. E l'uomo di Dio stava innanzi al Presepio pieno di somma dolcezza, spargendo infinite lagrime di tutta divozione e di pietà; e sopra la mangiatoia si celebrò la messa con grande solennità, e 'l beato Francesco, Levita di Cristo, vi cantò l'Evangelio santo e predicò al popolo della natività di Cristo nostro re.« Cit. in Rava (nota 10), pp. 35 f.
12 Iconografia musicale in Umbria tra XII e XIV secolo (Assisi 1984), nos. 17 e 18 (pp. 69–74).

Fig. 6

delle Adorazioni dei pastori siciliane – sia pur fortemente regionalizzata, si vedrà, nei paesaggi, nei costumi, negli strumenti musicali dei pastori – deriva simultaneamente da una tradizione drammatica e da una tradizione pittorica (consolidatasi soprattutto attraverso le importanti presenze nell'Isola di artisti napoletani) reciprocamente determinatesi in un intricato percorso di mutue relazioni.

Nella Sicilia controriformata l'opera di mediazione tra religione ufficiale e religiosità popolare svolta dai Francescani dovette passare, innanzi tutto, attraverso il riconoscimento e l'adozione di

quelle sacre rappresentazioni a soggetto natalizio che già da lunga pezza dovevano essere diffuse nell'Isola, fino ad allora nell'indifferenza o con l'ostilità della Chiesa ufficiale (e non mancano, nel XVI secolo, ordinanze e divieti sinodali a testimoniare tale ostilità)[13]. La rappresentazione drammatica del Natale conobbe dunque anch'essa – al pari dell'Adorazione dei pastori su tela – un notevolissimo incremento nel secolo XVII: brevi laude drammatiche che rappresentavano l'offerta dei pastori venivano recitate in chiesa, durante la messa, la notte di Natale; drammi pastorali venivano recitati in piazza da compagnie itineranti di attori professionisti o da pastori, contadini, artigiani del luogo[14]. Ancora, fin dal 1581 e – quasi senza soluzione di continuità – fino ai nostri giorni, è attestata in Sicilia l'esistenza delle Casazze, drammi itineranti allestiti in genere nei giorni della Passione o di S. Giuseppe[15]. Numerosi »tableaux vivants«, raffiguranti scene tratte dall'Antico Testamento e dalla vita di Cristo percorrevano (e sulle Madonie, a Castelbuono, Collesano, Castellana Sicula percorrono ancor oggi) le vie principali del borgo. Scrive Giuseppe Pitrè[16]:

> »Gareggiò con la *Casazza* di Nicosia quella celebrata nel maggio dello stesso anno (1851) in Castelbuono [...] V'era anche una grotta, ove si fece nascere Gesù, e innanzi la quale durante la rappresentazione ambulante pastori e contadini andavano tratto tratto ad inginocchiarsi adorando il Bambino, cantando e sonando uno la cornamusa, un altro il piffero ed altri le castagnette: scena che inteneriva gli spettatori. Tutte queste enormi macchine andavano trascinate per le vie principali della città, ove ne fosse lo spazio, ed era meraviglia a vederle [...] Tutti questi gruppi camminavan sempre lenti, quasi con le misurate cadenze di musiche ferme in vari siti. Tutto era stato prestabilito: prestabiliti financo i posti ne' quali ciascun gruppo dovea recitar la parte sua, che poi come nella *Casazza* di Nicosia, si ripetea per l'ultima volta su un palcoscenico piantato innanzi la piazza della Chiesa maggiore. E quivi le scene si eseguivano con quella esattezza che per lunghe e ripetute prove si era andata acquistando, fino alla Crocefissione, fino alla Deposizione. Le varie parti del vecchio Testamento erano in versi; versi i canti e i dialoghi de' pastori a Betlem; versi tutto il dramma del Mortorio. Vestiari e comparse fatti a proprie spese da ciascuno degli attori, i quali nulla curavano pur di riuscire degni dello spettacolo [...]«

Il trasferimento su tela della rappresentazione natalizia è simbolo e mezzo dell'opera di mediazione francescana: in esso è resa manifesta l'attenzione benevola della Chiesa nei confronti delle rappresentazioni popolari, delle quali il quadro è sintesi bidimensionale e duratura. Il dipinto, strumento attivo di comunicazione e tangibile trait d'union tra Chiesa e popolazione, doveva dunque raffigurare i luoghi e la gente del posto; chi guardava doveva riconoscersi nelle figure dipinte, e doveva leggere nell'esposizione del dipinto la volontà di partecipazione attiva della Chiesa alla rappresentazione rituale e popolare della Natività. Il riconoscimento del pastore

13 Synodales Constitutiones Syracusanae Ecclesiae etc. plena synodo promulgatae die VIII mensis sept. 1553 (Panormi 1555), tit. XXVIII, capitolo I; Constitutiones synodales metropolitanae Ecclesiae civit. Montisregalensis etc. (In civitate Montis regalis, an. D.ni 1554 etc.), tit. XXV, capitolo 36; Constitutiones et decreta condita in plena Synodo Diocesana sub ill.mo et rev.mo D. A. Lombardo, episc. mazariensis. (Panormi 1575, apud J. M. Maydam) pars II, capitolo XXX; Constitutiones et decreta plena synodo diocesana agrigentina digesta etc. (Panormi 1589, apud J. A. de Franciscis), pars IV, tit. III, capitolo XXII); Cit. in Pitrè, Spettacoli e feste (nota 3), p. 12.

14 Gio. Francesco Tranquillo, Il Natale di Gesù Cristo (Messina 1630, Bianco). – P. Ortensio Scammacca, Il parto della Vergine, tragedia sacra (Palermo 1633, Giambattista Maringo). – Antonino Ruffo, Il Natale di Cristo (Messina 1717, Vittorio Maffei). – Fr. Cherubino Bello, Il nascimento del Bambino Gesù (Palermo 1652, Giuseppe Biscagni). – Don Giuseppe Riccio, L'immensità pigmea nella nascita di Gesù nostro Salvatore (Chiusa [Palermo] 1668, Bua e Camagna). – F. Bernardino Faso, La nascita del Bambino Gesù, »dramma pastorale« (Palermo 1661, Pietro dell'Isola). – Sebastiano Colombo, La notte di Natale, »opera pastorale« (Palermo 1663, Giannantonio Mandracchia). – Mariano Bruscato, La notte sacra, »pastorale per la notte di Natale« (Palermo 1680, Barbera e Rumolo). – Casimiro Ruggero Occone (pseudonimo di Andrea Perucci di Palermo), Il vero lume fra le tenebre, ovvero La spelonca arricchita alla nascita del Verbo incarnato, »opera pastorale sacra« (Napoli 1698, Pace). – Da: Costantino Nigra e Delfino Orsi, Il Natale in Canavese (Torino-Roma 1894, Roux), p. 25 (nota 1), p. 27 (nota 1) e p. 28 (nota 1).

15 Vide nota 3.

16 Pitrè, Spettacoli e feste (nota 3), pp. 120–122.

contemporaneo nell'illustrazione sacra doveva valere come simbolo concreto del rituale accadere dell'evento sacro, come tangibile testimonianza, al momento della nascita del Dio-uomo, dell'unione tra il Cielo e la Terra, tra lo spazio e il tempo reali e l'astrazione dell'Eterno religioso.

Di più, nel dipinto il pubblico doveva riconoscersi non solo perché in esso ritratto, ma anche in quanto »artefice« dello stesso. Il lessico iconografico doveva essere vicino a quello della tradizione folklorica, perché il messaggio contenuto nell'immagine fosse compreso e accettato come interno alla comunità e non eterotrasmesso: per finissima intuizione della committenza, le Natività controriformate sono costruite secondo strutture formali tradizionali (in parte già fissate, si è detto, fin dal XIV secolo), assai lontane dai criteri restrittivamente riformatori dei Gesuiti. Queste strutture formali ricordano piuttosto, più o meno da vicino, quelle della pittura e della scultura popolari su ceramica, su vetro, su legno[17]. Ancora, l'uso di riquadri separati ritagliati all'interno della composizione principale – nei quali venivano raffigurati l'annuncio ai pastori o, più raramente, i Magi in cammino – ricorre con una certa frequenza; in esso si può vedere un riferimento ad un criterio di narrazione illustrata proprio di una cultura di tradizione orale, assimilabile a quello degli ex-voto o dei cartelloni dei cantastorie. La presenza del riquadro, inoltre, può essere motivata dall'intento di cogliere e sinteticamente illustrare un'azione drammatica, diacronicamente oltre che spazialmente organizzata. Necessariamente, il rapporto tra rappresentazione animata e raffigurazione pittorica non può essere stato unidirezionale: verosimilmente relazioni incrociate tra dramma e dipinto hanno determinato reciproche influenze e modificazioni, nelle quali può essere cercato lo spettro del confrontarsi, amalgamarsi e distinguersi di religiosità popolare e religione ufficiale nella Sicilia controriformata.

E'interessante notare, anche se una ricerca specifica in questa direzione non è ancora stata avviata, che un primo spoglio delle fonti sembra indicare, per le Adorazioni dei pastori controriformate siciliane, una committenza (diretta o indiretta) a larga prevalenza cappuccina. Nel quadro dunque di una francescana utilizzazione della tradizione a fini innovativi e riformistici, si assiste ad un percorso di secolarizzazione dell'immagine sacra: dall'ambiente extraspaziale ed extratemporale – ad esempio – delle quattrocentesche Incoronazioni della Vergine, nelle quali la Madonna è quasi sempre raffigurata in piedi su una mezzaluna, in un luogo allegoricamente e magicamente circoscritto da schiere di angeli disposti a corona, si passa a raffigurazioni di scene di vita quotidiana in ambienti familiari, facendo leva sugli aspetti umani e pietosi del religioso. Il sovrannaturale è limitato ai cori celesti, disposti di solito in alto, in cima sì ad una gerarchia dell'immagine, ma pur sempre in margine rispetto alla scena principale e in formato ridotto rispetto ad essa. Acquistano risalto, di contro, le figure umane, le immagini »semplici« e familiari. L'annuncio dell'angelo ai pastori, si è detto, acquista a volte uno spazio autonomo all'interno del quadro: viene raffigurato in un riquadro a parte, ritagliato generalmente in alto e a destra della Sacra Famiglia. I pastori, che si intendono sorpresi dal sacro evento nello svolgersi della propria esistenza quotidiana, recano nella raffigurazione oggetti e abiti della propria condizione e occupazione, utili a sottolineare il carattere, appunto, umano della composizione e necessari ad una loro rapida e sicura identificazione. Lo strumento musicale popolare – di facile identificazione e, per di più, distinguibile in modelli e tipologie a diffusione regionale – assume così un ruolo simbolico ma non allegorico: è fortemente caratterizzante, è supporto sonoro (ancora una volta, quotidiano e familiare), è, evidentemente, conosciuto e utilizzato nella zona in cui opera l'autore del dipinto e/o alla quale esso è destinato (e in Sicilia, in quest'epoca, per questi dipinti, le due aree spessissimo si sovrappongono).

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17 Per quanto riguarda l'iconografia del Natale nella pittura popolare siciliana su vetro, vide Buttitta (nota 2), pp. 71–73, e idem, La pittura su vetro in Sicilia (Palermo 1972, Sellerio).

Una ›Natività con i SS. Chiara, Francesco e Giovanni Battista‹ del pittore Pietro d'Asaro di Racalmuto (Agrigento)[18], del 1609 (firmata e datata: »MONOCVLVS RACALMVTENSIS/ PINGEBAT M. DC. XII« *(fig. 7)*, più di ogni Adorazione dei pastori controriformata siciliana sembra raccogliere in sé tutte le caratteristiche sopra enunciate. L'opera fu commissionata al Monocolo dai frati Osservanti Riformati di S. Francesco per l'altare maggiore della chiesa di S. Vito di Chiusa Sclafani (Palermo). Un gruppo di pastori è disposto a corona intorno alla Sacra Famiglia. Uno di essi reca in dono un agnellino; altri hanno al fianco caprette e agnelli che – al pari delle borracce di zucca e delle bisacce di pelo di capra – hanno il compito di facilitare la loro identificazione *(fig. 8)*. I vestiti, decisamente poveri, possono anche essere letti come vaga citazione di una pastoralità mitica, arcadica, probabilmente mutuata da quei drammi d'autore – assai diffusi nel XVII secolo – nei quali l'elemento arcadico è assai spesso rilevante. Due pastori però tengono in mano l'uno un triplo flauto, l'altro una zampogna a paro (sotto, a destra), minuziosamente disegnati. La presenza di questi strumenti risolve ogni dubbio circa la reale, umana provenienza delle figure di pastori. Provenienza, si può dire, addirittura paesana: la zampogna a paro è di quel modello che gli attuali costruttori siciliani di zampogne chiamano »alla girgintana«, cioè al modo di Agrigento [19]. La zampogna »alla girgintana« è del tutto sconosciuta in Sicilia orientale, e si distingue perché ha il raccordo tubo-campana dei chanter a forma di due tronchi di cono uniti per la base *(fig. 9)*. La decorazione del blocco, intagliata e a fuoco, con disegni geometrici e piccole figure antropomorfe, è assai simile a quella degli strumenti odierni di area agrigentina; essa, anche se non sconosciuta, è assai rara negli strumenti di area siciliano-orientale e calabrese. Il triplo flauto, strumento oggi scomparso, è tuttavia esaurientemente documentato dall'iconografia e dalla bibliografia siciliane del XVII secolo[20]. In alto a destra, sopra i SS. Chiara, Francesco e Giovanni Battista, è ritagliato il riquadro raffigurante l'annuncio ai pastori *(fig. 10)*. Questi ultimi, al riparo di una tettoia di legno, accudiscono le pecore e preparano il formaggio; uno di essi suona una zampogna. Altri pastori, in piedi sullo sfondo, lo sguardo al cielo, ascoltano l'annuncio dell'angelo. Al centro del dipinto, in alto, quattro angioletti cantori reggono un libro di coro, aperto e rivolto verso gli astanti *(fig. 11)*. La musica è perfettamente leggibile; le parole del canto sono »Hodie XPus Natus Est«. Si può credere che la notte di natale il coro dei monaci, posto – com'è prassi comune nelle chiese francescane – dietro l'altare maggiore (e dunque dietro il quadro)[21] facesse discendere la musica ai fedeli dall'immagine dipinta.

18 Pubblicata in Maria Pia Demma (a cura di), Pietro d'Asaro il »Monocolo di Racalmuto« (1579–1647), (Palermo 1984, Sovrintendenza per i beni artistici e storici della Sicilia occidentale), pp. 36–39, pl. I. figs. 6, 7 e 8. »Il dipinto commissionato certamente dai frati Osservanti Riformati di S. Francesco che erano venuti a Chiusa nel 1592 (cfr. Pirri, 1733) è una delle più grandiose e macchinose pale che il Monocolo abbia dipinto« (ibidem, p. 26).

19 Per le caratteristiche morfologiche e la diffusione della zampogna a paro vide Febo Guizzi e Roberto Leydi, Le zampogne in Italia (Milano 1985, Ricordi), vol 1, »Zampogna a paro«, pp. 224–264, e Nico Staiti, ›Sizilianische mehrpfeifige Aerophone mit simultaner Tonerzeugung‹, in: Studia instrumentorum musicae popularis, vol. IX (in corso di pubblicazione).

20 Staiti (nota 19), e Staiti ›Iconografia e bibliografia della zampogna a paro in Sicilia‹, in: Lares 52/2 (1986), pp. 197–240. A proposito dell'attuale diffusione di flauti policalami in Sicilia, vide Roberto Leydi, ›I doppi flauti‹, in: Culture musicali, vol. 4, anno II (1983), pp. 177–227, e Mario Sarica, ›Il doppio flauto in Sicilia‹, in: Franco Cleopatra e Mario Sarica, Ricerche sul doppio flauto in Italia (Bologna 1985, Preprint del Dipartimento di Musica e Spettacolo), no. 3, pp. 23–38.

21 Servus Gieben, ›L'arredamento sacro e le sculture lignee dei Cappuccini nel periodo della Controriforma‹, in: L'immagine di San Francesco nella Controriforma (Roma 1982, Quasar), p. 234: »Nella maggior parte dei casi, i tabernacoli cappuccini nacquero insieme a tutta la struttura dell'altare maggiore, che di solito includeva una pala. Quest'ultima era praticamente necessaria, a motivo della parete che separava la chiesa dal coro dei frati.«

Fig. 7

Fig. 8
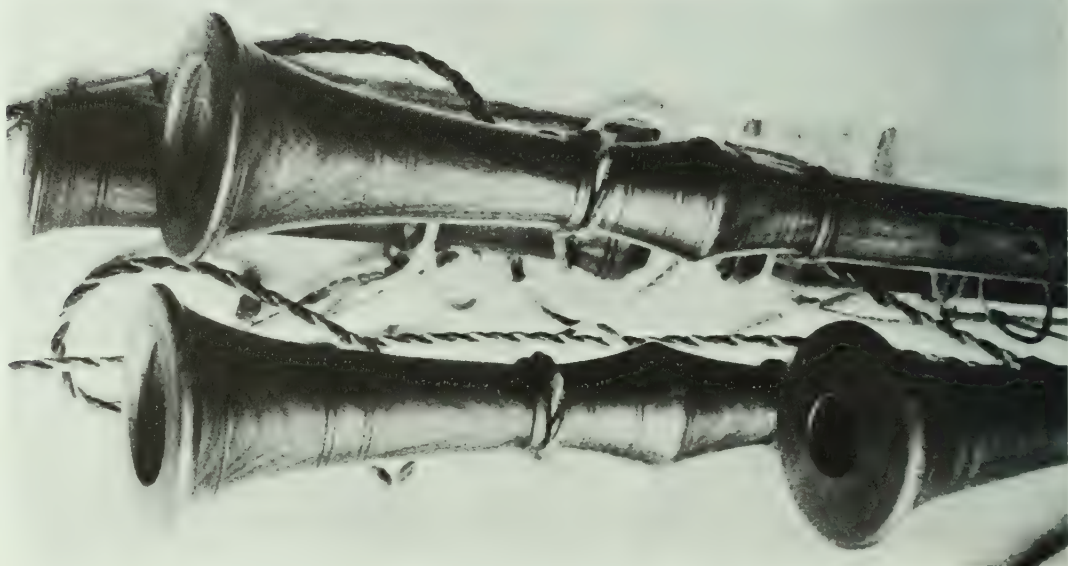
Fig. 9

Fig. 10

Fig. 11

Questa pratica è documentata – per il XVII secolo – nel ›Contrasto musico‹ di Grazioso Uberti (Roma 1630)[22]:

»[...] la gloria del paradiso non si può esplicare con parole [...] Per innamorarne maggiormente gli huomini, per commuovere maggiormente gli animi, si dipingono i Chori degl'Angeli in atto di cantare, e di sonare varij stromenti Musicali, ma perché la pittura è muta [...] si aggiunge il canto delle voci, et il suono degli stromenti, per rappresentarne più vivamente all'udito soave armonia, dalla quale si possa discorrendo argomentare quanto maggiore sia la dolcezza di quella celeste Musica, quanto maggiore sia la soavità di quel concerto del Paradiso.«

Fa corona agli angioletti cantori un gruppo di angeli musicanti. Gli strumenti sono: un'arpa, una chitarra a otto corde, un bassetto (visto di spalle: forse una viola da gamba) a sinistra (*fig. 12*); una tromba (*fig. 11*) e un organo positivo a destra. Il gruppo degli angeli musicanti è di dimensioni ridotte rispetto al gruppo principale. Tre angeli di dimensioni »umane«, invece, stanno alle spalle della Sacra Famiglia, gli occhi rivolti al cielo, a congiungere, spazialmente e simbolicamente, la scena celeste alla scena umana. Nella zona sinistra della composizione, dietro i pastori adoranti, si vedono delle colonne e parti di un edificio di ispirazione classica: le rovine del mondo pagano sulle quali si erge la civiltà cristiana. Frammenti e rovine di edifici romani vengono spesso raffigurati nelle ›Adorazioni dei pastori‹ seicentesche (*figs. 13 e 14*): si tratta di citazioni più o meno esplicite della leggenda medievale dell'›Ara Coeli‹, che ha ispirato numerose rappresentazioni drammatiche (la prima ›Rappresentazione d'Ottaviano‹ conosciuta è del 1465)[23]. In esse si narra della costruzione del tempio della pace da parte di Ottaviano Augusto. Il tempio, secondo il costruttore, sarebbe crollato solo quando una vergine avesse partorito. Alla nascita di Cristo il tempio crolla e si vede il bambino Gesù nella capanna, circondato da pastori.

L'Adorazione dei pastori dipinta, si è detto, è sintesi duratura della rappresentazione drammatica e ne riproduce scenografia, pose, costumi, collocazione delle figure. L'esistenza del dramma motiva l'esistenza del dipinto, che resta riferimento simbolico ad una rappresentazione rituale e animata. Il dipinto, dal canto suo, »vive« ritualmente in occasione delle celebrazioni natalizie in chiesa, quando il suono (»pastorale«)[24] dell'organo e il canto della folla ne attivano la funzione evocativa: l'immagine diviene specchio della folla orante; i fedeli, proiettandosi in essa, si trasformano ritualmente – al suono della musica natalizia – in pastori offerenti al bambino Gesù (*fig. 15*). Se è quasi certo che la musica suonata dai pastori nelle sacre rappresentazioni e davanti al presepe con zampogne e doppi flauti fosse – com'è ancor oggi – la novena di natale tuttora diffusa – nelle sue innumerevoli varianti – in tutta Italia[25], è meno facile immaginare quale fosse la »musica degli angeli« nelle rappresentazioni di Natale, e se essa si differenziasse in qualche modo dalla musica usata in altre sacre rappresentazioni. Non è inverosimile che il libro di coro perfettamente riprodotto nell'›Adorazione dei pastori‹ di Pietro d'Asaro (*fig. 11*) riportasse la musica realmente cantata da un coro di fanciulli in chiesa; il tema è un incipit di chanson francese, riportata anche in una raccolta manoscritta di canzoni strumentali, databile alla seconda

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22 Grazioso Uberti, Contrasto musico (Roma 1630), pp. 110f.
23 Renier (nota 10), pp. 202–204.
24 »La *pastorale* tra musica di tradizione orale e musica colta« è stata oggetto di una ricerca coordinata da Roberto Leydi e alla quale hanno preso parte Virgilio Bernardoni, Nicoletta Guidobaldi, Arnaldo Morelli, Nico Staiti. Parte dei materiali utilizzati nel presente lavoro (in particolare quanto riportato alle note 10, 12 21, 22 e 23) è stata collettivamente raccolta e selezionata nel corso di tale ricerca. Si ringraziano qui i partecipanti alla ricerca per l'aiuto e i consigli che hanno contribuito in maniera determinante al completamento di questo scritto e per la gentile concessione del materiale frutto di lavoro comune.
25 Nico Staiti, ›Immagini e suoni di pastori e zampogne‹. Relazione presentata al XIV Congresso Internazionale di Musicologia, S. I. M., Bologna 27 agosto – 1 settembre 1987 (atti in corso di pubblicazione).

Fig. 12

Fig. 13

Fig. 14

Fig. 15

metà del XVI secolo[26]; esso doveva avere una vasta diffusione e – forse – era usato per intonare più di un testo religioso, nelle diverse fasi dell'anno liturgico: la stessa melodia si ritrova nel ›Fluyten Lust-hof‹ di Jr. Jacob Van Eyck (1646)[27], e su di essa probabilmente si cantava il Salmo 9 nella chiesa di Utrecht. Va però ancora considerato che proprio all'inizio del XVII secolo appaiono per la prima volta delle composizioni espressamente e dichiaratamente scritte per essere eseguite in chiesa durante la messa della notte di Natale: le sonate e cantate dette, appunto, ›Pastorali‹. Il ritmo, l'andamento melodico, la condotta delle parti di queste composizioni sono evidentemente ispirati ai repertori tradizionali delle zampogne italiano-meridionali[28]. In chiesa, nel dramma, nei dipinti l'organo, strumento sacro per eccellenza, i celesti strumenti ad arco, le trombe glorificanti e le pure voci dei fedeli intonano la terrena musica delle zampogna, redenta dal sacro evento. La musica dei pastori veniva così eseguita dagli strumenti celesti nella casa di Dio e – si può presumere – dai concerti angelici nelle rappresentazioni natalizie. Dio si fa uomo per redimere l'umanità; gli angeli suonano la musica degli uomini, e gli uomini cantano la musica di Dio: così la redenzione del mondo, fine ultimo dell'esistenza umana di Cristo, è illustrata in fieri dalla rappresentazione del Natale, e, come narra il ›Vangelo dell'infanzia arabo-siriaco‹ (IV. I):

»in quel momento arrivarono dei pastori, e appena ebbero acceso il fuoco e si davano ad una grande allegria, apparvero loro eserciti celesti che lodavano e glorificavano Dio; e lo stesso fecero i pastori. E la grotta in quel momento parve simile al tempio di un mondo più alto, poiché voci celesti e voci terrestri glorificavano e magnificavano la nascita del Signore Cristo.«

Nel secolo XVIII, scomparse o quasi le Adorazioni dei pastori dipinte, ha vasta fortuna il presepe (*figs. 16* e *17*), sia popolare che d'arte, a grandezza naturale o miniaturizzato. E' molto probabile che l'arte del presepe sia arrivata in Sicilia da Napoli, ed è comunque certo che essa si sviluppò sotto l'influenza della scuola napoletana; le prime attestazioni siciliane sono del XVI secolo[29]. Il presepe nacque, secondo alcuni studiosi, dalla raffigurazione drammatica; secondo altri si tratta invece di un naturale sviluppo dell'arte plastica applicata al tema del Natale[30]. E' verosimile che le due motivazioni siano entrambe valide, ed è comunque indubbio che nei »tableaux vivants« e nei drammi processionali si sostituissero attori con figure inanimate, forse con procedimento progressivo. La pratica diffusa di allestire, in periodo di Natale, grandi presepi nelle chiese è attestata, per il XVII secolo, in tutta l'Isola[31]; fin da allora è documentato l'uso di pagare uno zampognaro perché suoni davanti al presepe. Nell'anno 1658 il contabile della chiesa di S. Domenico di Palermo registra[32]:

»[...] per la spesa che fece in fare il presepe [...] e a maestro mariano che sono tre giorni le ceramelli.«

Tra XVII e XVIII il presepe entra nelle case, conquistandosi uno spazio autonomo come rappresentazione natalizia rituale a carattere privato e domestico. Un pasturaru (fabbricante di figurine da presepe, le quali sono tutte, per estensione antonomastica, ›pastura‹) fornì a Carmelina

26 Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, Ms. MCXXVIII n. 32.
27 Jr. Jacob van Eyck, Fluyten Lust-hof (Amsterdam 1646), »Salmo 9«, fol. 7ʳ–8ʳ.
28 Virgilio Bernardoni e Nicoletta Guidobaldi, ›I suoni »pastorali« nella musica colta fra '600 e '900‹. Relazione presentata al XIV Congresso Internazionale di Musicologia, S. I. M., Bologna 27 agosto – 1 settembre 1987 (atti in corso di pubblicazione); e Staiti (nota 25).
29 Buttitta (nota 2), p. 78.
30 ibidem, p. 74.
31 Carmelina Naselli, ›Il Natale nella tradizione e nell'arte del popolo catanese‹, in: Rivista del comune di Catania III, no. 6 (1931); Uccello (nota 1), pp. 32–46; Buttitta (nota 2), pp. 77–82.
32 Cit. in Buttitta (nota 2), p. 78.

Fig. 16

Fig. 17

Naselli, intorno al 1930, un elenco completo del suo campionario di figurine[33]. Esse si distinguono in: personaggi necessari, senza anche solo uno dei quali non è possibile allestire un presepe; pastori offerenti; tipi della campagna; tipi marinareschi; varî. Tra le figure d'obbligo vi sono gli angeli, i pastori ai quali viene annunciato il lieto evento (come in molti dipinti seicenteschi: »il dormiente«, »lo spaventato«, »i pastori genuflessi«), le pecore, il suonatore di zampogna.

Personaggi necessari: Madonna, San Giuseppe, Bamminu, 'u Patri Eternu, angili, 'u voi e l'asineddu, i Santi tri Re a cavaddu, i Santi tri Re a peri, 'u durmienti, 'u spavintatu, 'u ciaramiddaru, pasturi genuflessi, picureddi.
Offerenti: chiddi ca porta l'aranci, chiddu ca porta l'agneddu vivu, chiddu ca porta l'agneddu mortu, chiddu ca porta 'u menzu porcu, chiddu ca porta i palummi, chiddu ca porta i jaddini, chiddu ca porta i vasceddi ca ricotta, chiddu ca porta 'u cucciddatu, chiddu ca porta i ligna, chiddu ca porta 'u varrili,

33 C. Naselli, ›Arte sacra popolare siciliana. I »pastori« da presepe‹, in: Arte sacra II, no. 1 (1932). Cit. in Buttitta (nota 2), pp. 82f.

chiddu ca porta i frutti, chiddu ca porta 'a pala [di fichidindia] e un panareddu, chiddu ca porta 'u bastardu [cavolfiore] e un jaddurinnia [tacchino], chiddu ca porta l'agneddu vivu 'nta virdulidda e 'na pezza di tuma, chiddu ca porta 'u caciu e 'a ricotta, chiddu ca porta 'u saccu da farina, chiddu ca porta un fasciu di ligna. – Chidda ca porta 'a racina, chidda ca porta i frutti, chidda ca porta i cavuli, 'a calabrisa ca porta 'u varrili, chidda ca porta i frutti genuflessa, chidda ca porta 'a pala e un panareddu, chidda ca porta 'na cucuzza baffa, chidda ca porta i jaddini, chidda ca porta i ligna, chidda ca porta 'na pidduzza di furmaggiu.

Tipi della campagna: 'u craparu, 'u picuraru in marcia, 'u picuraru appuiatu, 'u picuraru ca dormi, un picuraru ca sona 'u friscalettu, 'u picuraru ca tagghia 'u pani, 'u picuraru ca fa 'a ricotta, 'u picuraru a mancia 'a ricotta, 'u ricuttaru, chiddu ca rimina 'a quagghiata, chiddu ca va appressu o sciccarieddu, chiddu ca scanna l'agneddu, chiddu ca scanna 'u vuoi, 'u campagnolu ca porta 'u ciascu e i vertuli, 'u campagnolu ca porta la fauci e i vertuli, 'u zappaturi, 'u cacciaturi, 'u cacciaturi ca mira, chiddu ca cogghi i lumei, chiddu ca cogghi l'aranci, chiddu ca cogghi i ficurinnia, un africanu ca cogghi i ballattuli [datteri].

Tipi marinareschi: 'u piscaturi, 'u piscaturi ca sta 'gniscannu, 'u trizzotu [pescatore di Aci Trezza], 'u pisciaru.

Tipi casalinghi e vari: Jnnaru [Gennaio, ossia il vecchio che si scalda al fuoco], 'a vecchia ca fila, chidda ca porta 'u picciriddu, chidda ca 'mpasta a pasta, chidda ca cucina, chidda ca tira l'acqua 'nto puzzu, chidda ca va all'acqua ca quartara, chidda ca ha pigghiari l'acqua, chidda ca pigghia l'acqua 'a funtana, 'a lavannara ca 'nsapuna, 'a lavannara ca strica i robbi, 'a lavannara ca torci i robbi, 'u scarparu sutta un peri d'arvulu.

Paseaggio: 'u pagghiaru, 'a casedda, 'a preula, 'a funtanedda.

Nella rappresentazione dell'offerta dei pastori – sia essa drammatica, su tela o presepiale – il pastore musicante è figura d'obbligo. Gli strumenti usati sono generalmente, come si è detto, quelli diffusi nelle zone in cui la rappresentazione vive. In Sicilia si tratta di regola di zampogne (generalmente del tipo a paro, tuttora diffuso in Sicilia e nel sud della Calabria) e di flauti, quasi sempre di canna, spesso doppi o tripli, la cui presenza nel passato in Sicilia è documentata anche da testimonianze bibliografiche e dall'attuale presenza di flauti doppi nel messinese[34].

Un caso particolare – e particolarmente significativo – è quello degli strumenti raffigurati in un'›Adorazione dei pastori‹ di Anonimo siciliano, databile alla fine del XVI secolo (*figs. 18 e 19*). Le due figure di pastori in primo piano sulla destra sono tratte da una xilografia di Albrecht Dürer (1510 circa), che raffigura anch'essa un'›Adorazione dei pastori‹ (*fig. 20*)[35]. Lo strumento raffigurato da Dürer – visibile solo in parte – è una zampogna di tipo centro-europeo, con i due bordoni, terminanti con un ampio padiglione, appoggiati sulla spalla destra del suonatore. Il pittore siciliano non conosceva il modello di zampogna della stampa di Dürer: a lui i due bordoni dovevano apparire come due tubi sonori non meglio identificabili e non necessariamente assemblati in un unico strumento musicale. Egli dunque ha modificato il disegno, trasformando i bordoni in due traverse basse: gli oggetti di sua conoscenza che più da vicino ricordassero lo strumento sconosciuto raffigurato nella stampa da lui presa a modello. I lunghi flauti bassi, inseriti in una custodia a faretra, potevano sostituire egregiamente i bordoni di Dürer; inoltre essi, pur non essendo strumenti di pastori, meglio di altri aerofoni potevano evocare ambienti arcadici e pastorali. Alla composizione è stato aggiunto, per di più, un terzo pastore, che suona una zampogna a paro; viene così marcata decisamente la rappresentazione di un »sonoro« inequivocabilmente »pastorale« e »siciliano«.

In una tavola datata 1572, esposta nella Chiesa Madre di Licata (Agrigento; *fig. 21*), è raffigurato un gruppo di pastori offerenti che sembra tratto dall'elenco – tre secoli e mezzo più

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34 Per una bibliografia della zampogna a paro e dei flauti policalami in Sicilia vide le note 19 e 20 a questo lavoro.

35 Pubblicata in Walter L. Strauss (a cura di), The Illustrated Bartsch, vol. 10 (New York 1981, Abaris Books), p. 264 (no. 1001.220), »The Nativity«.

Fig. 18

Fig. 19

Fig. 20

tardo – di figure da presepe citato sopra. I pastori calzano le ›scarpi‹ i pilu tradizionali, e recano in dono al Bambino l'»agneddu vivu«, i »vasceddi ca ricotta«, »u varrili«. In alto a destra, come d'obbligo, è raffigurato l'annuncio ai pastori; nelle figure a cavallo sullo sfondo della scena principale si può forse individuare il corteo dei Magi a cavallo.

La rappresentazione della Natività contiene quasi sempre elementi mutuati dai Vangeli apocrifi; uno dei più consueti e dei più evidenti è la raffigurazione del bue e dell'asino, la cui presenza non è contemplata da nessuno dei quattro Vangeli ufficiali[36]. Nelle rappresentazioni siciliane l'influenza degli apocrifi è forse più forte che altrove, a causa della forte influenza esercitata sugli ambienti cristiani siciliani dalle Chiese orientali, »notoriamente inclini verso i testi

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36 Buttitta (nota 2), pp. 66 e 75. Per quanto riguarda, più in generale, temi mutuati dagli apocrifi nel dramma e nell'iconografia, vide anche ibidem, p. 57, e Renier (nota 10), pp. 209–213. Il motivo della gelosia di S. Giuseppe, anch'esso di derivazione apocrifa, è assai diffuso in rappresentazioni e testi di cantastorie in tutta Italia. Per quanto riguarda la Sicilia, è interessante questo scritto di Pitrè (Spettacoli e feste [nota 3], pp. 42 f.): »Ai primi anni di questo secolo [XIX], nel primo giorno della novena in Chiaramonte [...] solea recitarsi una specie di azione drammatica, nella quale S. Giuseppe ritornando dall'Egitto, ov'era andato in busca di lavoro, avea sobillata la mente dall'Angelo cattivo intorno alla gravidanza della Vergine. San Giuseppe volea ammazzarla, ma l'Angelo buono gli facea aperta la verità [...] Non è stato possibile rintracciare quell'azione drammatica, ma [...] io ed altri ne abbiam raccolto qualche brano. Questo frammento che mi manda il Guastella è più lungo di altro da me pubblicato:

Angelo nero	Susi, Giuseppe, e cugghi li pannizzi;
	Cà la tò spusa è curta di figghiari
	Cà s'iddu nasci ccu la testa rizza,
	E' figghiu di Giuseppi naturali.
Poeta	Giseppi si cci 'ntrùbbula la menti,
	Ni 'na 'gnuni si minti a suspirari.
S. Giuseppe	Oh Diu! ch'avissi 'na spata putenti
	A menzanotti la vorra' ammazzari!
	[...]«

Fig. 21

Fig. 22

non canonici«[37]. Poichè in Occidente gli apocrifi furono messi al bando fin dal medioevo, i motivi da essi derivati si sono trasmessi esclusivamente per via orale e attraverso il dramma e l'iconografia. La stessa presenza rilevante delle figure di pastori nelle raffigurazioni di Natività è forse originariamente derivata dall'attenzione che numerosi apocrifi hanno dedicato alla narrazione dell'Annuncio ai pastori e dell'Offerta dei pastori: dei quattro Vangeli accreditati dalla Chiesa cattolica, solo quello di Luca menziona brevemente i due episodi (Luca, 2, 1–20); Marco e Giovanni tacciono addirittura sulla nascita di Gesù.

La tavola di Licata raccoglie una notevole quantità di elementi di derivazione apocrifa. La Sacra Famiglia non è al riparo di una capanna o di una tettoia di legno (Matteo, II, 11: »i Magi entrati *nella casa* trovarono il Bambino con Maria sua Madre [...]«), bensì in una grotta, secondo la lezione del protovangelo di Giacomo (18,1):

»Trovò quivi una grotta: ve la condusse, lasciò presso di lei i suoi figli e uscì a cercare una ostetrica ebrea nella regione di Betlemme.«

Nella macchia di luce sospesa al di sopra della grotta si può forse vedere – più che la stella cometa – la stilizzazione di quella nube luminosa di cui narrano alcuni apocrifi[38]. La nube è raffigurata ancora in alcune pitture popolari su vetro siciliane della seconda metà del XIX secolo[39].

Il pastore musicante del dipinto di Licata suona un triplo flauto di canna, a calami separati (*fig. 22*). Lo strumento, se pur impugnato in maniera del tutto inconsueta (col calamo di bordone legato a un chanter e appoggiato alle falangi della mano sinistra), trova riscontro in un'›Adorazione dei pastori‹ di Antonio Catalano il Vecchio (firmata e datata: 1600; *figs. 23 e 24*) e nella già citata – ›Natività‹ di Pietro d'Asaro (datata 1609; *fig. 8*)[40]. Lo strumento raffigurato da Catalano e d'Asaro ha il bordone legato al chanter destro, ed è ad esso accostato. Marin Mersenne dà conferma dell'esistenza dello strumento in Sicilia (1636/37)[41]:

»[...] cependant les ioüers de Fifre & de Fleustes pourront inventer des moyens pour faire qu'un seul homme puisse ioüer tout seul de plusieurs instrumens tout à la fois, comme l'on pratique dans la Sicile & ailleurs, où l'on embouche deux ou trois Flustes en mesme temps, qui sont faites de cannes, & dont les sons ont de certains charmes particuliers qui imitent ceux de la voix.«

In Calabria, sul monte Pollino (S. Demetrio Corona e dintorni) il doppio flauto di canna è tuttora usato in chiesa la notte di Natale, durante la Messa[42].

Si legge nella ›Leggenda aurea‹ di Jacopo da Varazze (1230 circa – 1298)[43]:

»[...] E in quella ora vegghiano li pastori sopra la reggia loro, siccome usavano di fare l'anno due volte, cioè nelle più lunghe e corte notti dell'anno, perciò che costumanza fu anticamente dei pagani che in catuno sollistazio cioè in quella di state, per la festa di Giovanni Battista, e in quello del verno per la festa del Natale, guardavano le vigilie della notte per riverenza del sole; il quale costume era già molto cresciuto appo i Giudei per l'uso di coloro che abitano fra loro. Sicché i pastori rinvegnendo e trovando tutto come l'angelo avea detto, sì il narrarono poi agli altri.«

Il racconto – evidentemente – è mitico; tuttavia è interessante il riferimento ai riti del solstizio, che, anche se relativo ai »pagani che [...] guardavano le vigilie della notte per riverenza del sole« può essere una mitizzazione di riti pastorali realmente presenti nell'Italia medievale e assorbiti dal

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37 Buttitta (nota 2), p. 20.
38 ibidem, p. 72.
39 Buttitta (nota 17), pls. 42, 94, 100, 103, 105, 106 e 111.
40 Staiti (nota 19).
41 Marin Mersenne, Harmonie Universelle (Paris 1636), vol. III, p. 243.
42 Informazione orale, da Olivier Turquet, agosto 1985.
43 Cit. in Buttitta (nota 2), p. 16.

Fig. 23

Fig. 24

Natale cristiano. Gli strumenti dell'iconografia pastorale, le zampogne, gli oboi e clarinetti mono o pluricalami e i flauti di canna semplici, doppi e tripli sono strumenti realmente appartenenti al mondo pastorale e con tutta probabilità lo erano, quantomeno in Italia centro-meridionale, anche nel XVI e nel XVII secolo. Anche la suggestione esercitata dalla mitologia, dalla letteratura, dall'iconografia antiche ha avuto probabilmente un ruolo non secondario nella fissazione di alcuni topoi iconografici relativi alla raffigurazione del »pastore musicante«[44]. Il panneggio delle vesti, le chiome morbide e fluenti, le pose statuarie che fanno capolino – con maggiore o con minore evidenza – tra le ciocie, i capretti, le forme di ricotta, i flauti, le zampogne dell'iconografia natalizia seicentesca sono echi della contemporanea tradizione profana delle pastorellerie arcadiche. I pastori contemporanei vengono trasferiti in una dimensione astratta e mitica, nella quale l'esistenza reale viene sublimata e, in qualche modo, divinizzata. I pastori Clitarco, Climene, Pireno dei drammi natalizi siciliani del XVI e del XVII secolo – e le loro immagini fissate nei dipinti – rappresentano la sintesi tra mondo arcadico e mondo reale, sono figure ambigue, in bilico tra lo stereotipo classicheggiante e la caratterizzazione paesana. Essi »sonano tutti li loro stromenti [in: ›Le tenebre illuminate nella sagratissima notte del santo Natale...‹ di G. Musmeci Catalano, Acireale 1752: il ›circhetto‹, il ›calaggione‹, i ›faràuti‹] a pastorale«:

> »E ch'aspittamu chiù, olà pasturi,
> Jamuninni, ca cc'è Gesuzzu natu,

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44 A proposito della sostituzione, nell'iconografia cinque-seicentesca di ispirazione classica, di strumenti »antichi« con i loro equivalenti moderni, vide Emanuel Winternitz, *Musical Instruments and Their Symbolism in Western Art* (New Haven e London 1979, Yale University Press), traduzione italiana: *Gli strumenti musicali e il loro simbolismo nell'arte occidentale* (Torino 1982, Boringhieri), pp. 127–135.

> E ntra la grutta cù supranu amuri
> Picciriddu si fici ed umanatu.
> Xialamu tutti cù gloria vivaci
> Alligrizza, alligrizza, paci, paci!«

L'arte antica ha trasmesso alla cultura rinascimentale italiana l'immagine della siringa e dell'aulos come attributi di divinità agresti e di satiri dalle forme caprine, in opposizione agli strumenti a corda, simboli di misura e spiritualità[45]. Da qui la creazione di un'iconografia del pastore che gli assegna come attributi connotanti strumenti musicali che sono gli eredi di siringe e auloi e sono al tempo stesso le zampogne, i pifferi, i flauti di canna usati ancor oggi dai pastori dell'Italia meridionale.

Zampogne e flauti policalami, come si è detto, erano e sono tuttora strumenti di pastori; essi venivano usati per accompagnare alcuni momenti della vita sociale, del lavoro collettivo, dei riti della comunità a cui appartenevano. E' naturale che gli strumenti impiegati nelle veglie rituali natalizie fossero quelli appartenenti alla comunità pastorale, tuttavia ciò non basta a motivare la specifica associazione di alcuni di essi alle celebrazioni del Natale. Tali motivazioni vanno cercate piuttosto – come si è cercato di dimostrare – nella funzione simbolico-rappresentativa da essi assolta nell'iconografia e nel dramma sacro. L'iconografia pastorale siciliana – e forse italiano-meridionale – avrebbe avuto insomma una funzione attiva nella determinazione di un uso rituale e di un repertorio per alcuni strumenti musicali, e segnatamente per la zampogna a paro. La raffigurazione e il dramma sacro avrebbero agito da specchi deformanti, creando, sulla base dell'appartenenza di alcuni aerofoni alle locali comunità pastorali, l'immagine di questi strumenti come legati alle celebrazione del Natale. In questo caso allora l'iconografia e la rappresentazione animata non hanno documentato una situazione preesistente, ma – al contrario – hanno determinato un nuovo contesto rituale di uso dello strumento musicale; il percorso – e ciò è forse inusuale – va dunque dal rappresentato all'accaduto, e non viceversa. Questo procedimento viene forse posto in maggior evidenza con la trasformazione del »tableau vivant« in presepe: la progressiva sostituzione di figure di cartapesta, di terracotta o di cera alle persone ha mantenuto un unico, insostituibile attore in carne ed ossa: il suonatore, la cui doppia funzione, sonora oltre che visiva, non poteva essere assolta da una figura inanimata.

A Licata ancor oggi alcuni suonatori di zampogna danno vita – durante la novena di Natale – ad una vera e propria sacra rappresentazione. »Un pastore sveglia gli altri pastori che vorrebbero (l'alba non è ancora spuntata) ancora riposare. Egli annuncia che in una capanna è nato Gesù. Dopo varie insistenze i pastori si alzano ed esultano alla notizia. La rappresentazione si conclude con canti natalizi. L'accompagnamento del canto e gli intermezzi sono affidati alla zampogna.«[46]

Nel periodo di Natale, adesso e sicuramente (secondo le fonti bibliografiche) almeno a partire dalla metà del XIX secolo, l'uso della zampogna a paro in Sicilia (come quello di altre zampogne, di pifferi e doppi flauti in Italia centro-meridionale) ha un notevolissimo incremento (*figs. 25* e *26*). Gli zampognari sono chiamati a suonare dietro compenso nelle abitazioni private davanti al presepe e per le strade davanti ad icone decorate con arance; una grossa percentuale dei suonatori usa il proprio strumento solo nove giorni l'anno, per la Novena di Natale, che è ormai l'unica occasione riconosciuta e – per di più – remunerata di uso pubblico dello strumento. La zampogna a paro – al pari di altre zampogne italiane – ha un repertorio, sia strumentale che di accompagnamento al canto, riservato al Natale. Scrive Giuseppe Pitrè (1881)[47]:

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45 ibidem, capitolo 5, »La maledizione di Pallade Atena«, e Staiti (nota 20), »Zampogne nei dipinti di Pietro d'Asaro«.
46 Roberto Leydi e Febo Guizzi, Strumenti musicali popolari in Sicilia (Palermo 1983, Edikronos), pp. 71–73.
47 Pitrè, Spettacoli e feste (nota 3), pp. 435f.

Fig. 25

Fig. 26

»La novena non la fanno solamente i cantastorie, ma anche i *ciaramiddari* e altri sonatori. I *ciaramiddari,* sonatori di ciaramelle, in Palermo vanno in giro di giorno e di sera, ma non di notte come ne' paesi. Chi vuole la loro sonata, se li impegna qualche dì innanzi il novenario; ed essi devono sonare a una Madonna (per un quadro rappresentante Gesù, Maria, Giuseppe), parata con fronde d'aranci forti, cariche di frutta. Stanno accese davanti le immagini nove candele di cera, numero de' giorni della novena, e mentre i fanciulli fan corona al *ciaramiddaru,* egli suona e suona, modulando coi tasti del piffero il suono monotono della cornamusa. La sua sonata è divisa in quattro pezzi, detti *caddozzi,* che non duran più di dieci minuti ciascuno. V'è un pezzo detto di *S. Antonino,* che è la melodia popolare dell'orazione di Santo Antonino; ve n'è uno di *S. Giuseppe;* l'ultimo è delle *Litanie.* Al suono della ciaramella s'associa talvolta quello delle *scattagnetti* (castagnette) e del cerchietto pieno di sonagli, come a quello del violino il suono del sistro. Qualche volta non si può fare a meno del *friscalettu* (zufolo) e del *mariolu* o *mangalarruni* o *'nganna-larruni,* scacciapensieri. Chi può spendere qualche lira in più, fa la novena con più d'un sonatore; così ne nasce un'orchestra in embrione: un violino, un controbasso, un flauto. Tutti e tre stan seduti a sonare; ed è spettacolo da vedere quello delle persone che divotamente attorniano i sonatori senza aprir bocca, senza muoversi niente, assorte nella contemplazione delle sante immagini e nella festa che le celebra.«

La novena in casa e per le strade veniva suonata in Sicilia, probabilmente già dal XVII secolo e fino al 1970 circa, anche dagli orbi, cantori ciechi di cose sacre la cui presenza in Sicilia – vi si è accennato prima – è attestata già dal 1661, data in cui essi si riunirono in Congregazione sotto la direzione dei Gesuiti[48]. »La più antica novena che si conosca risale al secolo XVIII ed è stata più

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48 La tradizione degli orbi a Palermo è descritta assai bene in uno scritto di Giuseppe Pitrè, Usi e costumi, credenze e pregiudizi del popolo siciliano (Palermo 1887/88), vol. 1, pp. 346–348: »I sonatori di violino in Sicilia sono quasi tutti ciechi, e perciò chiamati per antonomasia orbi. Dire *orbu,* e dire *sunaturi* o *ninariddaru,* è lo stesso. L'orbo, nato o divenuto tale nei primi suoi anni, non sapendo che cosa fare per vivere, impara da fanciullo a sonare, e non solo a sonare, ma anche a cantare, giacchè egli è ad un tempo sonatore e cantatore, sebbene non tutti i cantatori siano sonatori. Le molte feste popolari dell'anno, per le quali l'opera sua è indispensabile, gli danno sempre qualche cosa da guadagnare, specie quando il suonatore sia conosciuto da' popolani ed abbia una clientela. In Palermo le sole orazioni (*'razioni*) bastano a occupare parecchie dozzine di orbi per tutta una settimana: il lunedì per le Anime del purgatorio,

volte ristampata con il titolo: ›Viaggiu dulurusu di Maria Santissima e lu Patriarca S. Giuseppi in Betlemmi, Canzunetti siciliani di Binidittu Annuleri di la cità di Murriali, divisi in 9 jorna pri la nuvena di lu Santu Natali di Gesù Bambinu‹. Il titolo stesso di questo libretto popolare dice già che si tratta di uno di quei testi, peraltro assai numerosi, che gli orbi utilizzavano per cantare le novene.«[49] Gli orbi si spartivano con gli zampognari clienti e – nel nostro secolo – aree differenziate di presenza. L'organico strumentale degli orbi (violino, bassetto, chitarra) è generalmente composto esclusivamente da strumenti a corda, con l'occasionale aggiunta di alcuni idiofoni: il triangolo, il circhittu (cornice con bubbole e cimbali), o le ossa, una coppia cioè di coste di maiale reciprocamente percosse. Gli strumenti a corda, lo si è detto, hanno una connotazione simbolica notoriamente ed universalmente positiva, nobile, spirituale; sono, per di più, gli strumenti con cui meglio si accompagna il canto, che è musica pura per eccellenza. Bubbole, campane e oggetti sonori di metallo in genere hanno, in tutto il mondo, funzione apotropaica. Nella tradizione cattolica ciò si evidenzia nell'uso rituale delle campane e del

il martedì per Sant'Anna, il mercoledì per S. Giuseppe e per la Madonna del Carmine, il giovedì pel SS. Sacramento, il venerdì per la Passione di G. Cristo, il sabato per Maria, la domenica, quando non altro, per un santo di cui ricorre la festa. Vi sono poi i tredici mercoledì di S. Giuseppe, i tredici venerdì di S. Francesco di Paola, la novena del Natale, quella di S. Giuseppe, quella di S. Rosalia, l'altra della Immacolata, la tredicina di S. Antonino, oltre i *Diasilli* ed altri suoni e cantilene devote.
Andando in giro per le case de' clienti (*parrucciani*) è condotto a mano da un ragazzo qualunque, che ad ogni sonata trova sempre con chi baloccarsi a fare a pari e caffo, a far meglio al muro, alle buche, a' cinque sassi a ripigliare. In certe occasioni all'orbo si associa un sonatore di *citarruni*, cioè di violoncello, o un pifferaio e un cantatore.
Nel 1661 gli orbi di Palermo si costituirono in congregazione con rendite proprie per donazione di pietosi protettori. S'adunavano nell'atrio di Casa Professa sotto la direzione de' Gesuiti, coi quali però ben presto si guastarono, fino a diventare acerbi nemici. Ci vollero dei rescritti sovrani perchè la congregazione non venisse scacciata dalla sua residenza e non fossero manomessi i diritti ch'ella vantava in faccia alla Compagnia. (Scrive Lionardo Vigo, *Raccolta amplissima [...]:*) ›I congregati erano trenta, tutti suonatori e cantanti, altri trovatori di novelle rime, altri rapsodi, che quelle ripetevano e diffondevano. Si obbligano a non sonare in luoghi inonesti, a non cantare poesie profane per le strade, a ›recitare ogni giorno la Coronella delle cinque piaghe di N. S., il rosario della sera, a pagare ogni anno grani 10 pe' funerali de' ciechi defunti a 2 di novembre, e tarì uno per la festa dell'Immacolata a 8 dicembre. Avevano un cappellano, che lor celebrava la messa ogni giovedì; un padre direttore ch'era gesuita, a cui si confessavano ogni giovedì di mese: costui esaminava le lor poesie, e ne permettea la pubblicazione. Li reggevano un Superiore, due Congiunti, sei Consultori: vi era un Visitatore de' fratelli infermi e un ammonitore, il quale adempiva l'ufficio di Censore. Pieni di nobile orgoglio per la loro Società, vantavano sodalità con la Congregazione di S. Maria Maddalena di Roma e aver ottenuto dall'Arcivescovo Mormile di godersi 40 giorni d'indulgenza chiunque facea recitare una poesia spirituale ad un cieco [...] Era debito di ogni confratello in ogni anno agli 8 dicembre, ricorrendo la festività dell'Immacolata, presentare alla congregazione una poesia novella in lode della Madonna; quest'obbligo da qualche tempo trascuravasi; ma quando avveniva la ragunata, era bello vedere a cerchio seduti i ciechi in attitudini stranissime, contendersi l'un l'altro il pubblico suffragio, e l'uno dopo l'altro sfoggiare la nova musica e il canto novello, mentre i fantolini, che loro servivano di guida, sospeso alquanto il fastidio di condurli, si agglomeravano tutti insieme e abbandonavansi ai fanciulleschi trastulli.‹
Nel sinodo diocesano di Messina dell'anno 1663 ordinavasi che nessuna nuova canzone od orazione venisse recitata o cantata che non fosse stata prima riveduta dall'autorità ecclesiastica (›Cantilenas aut orationes memoriter recitare aut cantare hujusmodi homines non audeant nisi prius revisae et a nostro Generali Vicario approbatae fuerint.‹ *Const. Synodi Dioces.* par. 1 c. XV.). Ma che cantatori e sonatori non le facessero nulla, lo danno a vedere le orazioni, le cantilene, le storie popolari tutte o quasi giunte fino a noi, le quali sono di troppo modesti, di troppo ingenui poeti e cantastorie perché non possan dirsi approvate da persone culte [...] Un ricordo di ciechi sonatori ambulanti troviamo in un poeta siciliano del sec. XVII, Paolo Catania (*Teatro delle miserie humane*, p. 1, n. 86):

Si vidi un ciecu cantari pri via
A sonu d'arpa, o chitarra, o liutu,
E benchì privu di la vista sia,
Cerca cantandu succursu ed aiutu,
Leta la vita in canti e puisia
La passa, è lo strumentu lu sò scutu;
Buscannu lu guadagnu giustamenti
'Ntra li miserii soi campa cuntenti.«

49 Buttitta (nota 2), p. 54.

Fig. 27

campanello che, durante la messa, preannuncia la transustaziazione. Nell'iconografia cristiana il bambino Gesù è a volte raffigurato con un sonaglio metallico in mano. L'uso di un campanello, non come oggetto sonoro ma con chiari intenti apotropaici, nei riti collegati alla nascita e allo svezzamento dei bambini, è testimoniato, nella tradizione popolare siciliana, da una annotazione di Giuseppe Pitrè[50]:

> »La prima volta che la mamma vuol dar da bere al bambino, lo fa in un bicchiere in cui non siasi versato del vino, per paura che egli cresca balbuziente. Un campanello toglie ogni timore, e va preferito a qualunque bicchiere. (Modica)«

E' forse improbabile ma certamente assai suggestiva l'ipotesi che l'uso delle ossa percosse – surrogato non metallico del triangolo – da parte degli orbi fosse, in origine, legato a ragioni rituali, in relazione a particolari momenti dell'anno liturgico: che esse venissero usate cioè in sostituzione del triangolo o del *circhittu* in occasioni luttuose, soprattutto durante i giorni della Passione, quando le campane vengono fasciate e tutti gli strumenti di metallo tacciono, e al loro posto vengono impiegati *traccole* e campanacci di legno.

L'organico degli orbi, cantori di cose sacre, che operavano sotto il diretto controllo della Compagnia di Gesù, può essere letto come realizzazione di un insieme strumentale ideale, rispondente a criteri di eccellenza simbolica oltre che di gradevole impasto sonoro. Gli orbi costituivano in fondo la seconda possibilità nella drammatizzazione della raffigurazione del

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50 Pitrè (nota 48), vol. 2, »La nascita«, p. 180.

Fig. 28

sonoro dell'Adorazione dei pastori: rappresentavano la trasposizione vivente dei concerti angelici. Essi suonavano col violino e col citarruni la pastorale, che – si è cercato di dimostrarlo – al Natale arriva, attraverso il dramma e l'iconografia, come attributo connotante la figura del pastore, come »offerta musicale« pastorale.

Non conosciamo raffigurazioni della Novena eseguita dagli orbi per le strade o nelle abitazioni private, anche se non mancano testimonianze orali e bibliografiche a documentare la diffusione di questa pratica in un passato anche recente. Alcune stampe e disegni napoletani illustrano però una tradizione, sostanzialmente identica a quella degli orbi, diffusa in Campania: la novena eseguita con arpa, violino (o viola da braccio), chitarra e a volte clarinetto dai suonatori ambulanti di Viggiano (Potenza). In alcuni casi, i viggianesi sono stati raffigurati accanto ad una coppia di suonatori di zampogna a chiave e ciaramella (*figs. 27* e *28*). In queste immagini il gruppo dei suonatori di Viggiano e la coppia di zampognari, affiancati, sono tuttavia separati tra loro e non costituiscono un unico organico: evidentemente, sono state sintetizzate in un'unica immagine due pratiche musicali parallele e strettamente connesse tra loro, ma non simultanee. Gli angeli e i pastori, nel dramma e nei dipinti come per le strade di Palermo e di Napoli, celebravano la nascita di Cristo col suono della pastorale, offerta umana al Cielo e – al tempo stesso – celeste audibile messaggio del Dio incarnato. Nel corso di questo secolo, estintasi la tradizione degli orbi, la zampogna ha occupato gli spazi resisi liberi; estendendo e rafforzando una tradizione che si evidenzia già nel XVI secolo, lo zampognaro continua la drammatizzazione della domestica rappresentazione rituale dell'offerta dei pastori, ogni anno, dal giorno dell'Immacolata al 25 dicembre.

Osten und Westen in der Feld- und Militärmusik an der türkischen Grenze

Koraljka Kos*

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* * *

Es ist eine bekannte Tatsache, daß sich auf dem Balkan, besonders auf dem Territorium des heutigen Jugoslawien, jahrhundertelang Einflüsse östlicher und westlicher Kultursphären durchkreuzt haben. Dies hat auch die neuere jugoslawische musikgeschichtliche Forschung wiederholt betont[1]. Doch spezielle Untersuchungen, die – vor allem aufgrund von eingehender Quellenforschung – über das wo, wann und wie dieser Prozesse mehr aussagen könnten, stehen noch aus. In dieser Studie soll – nach einem historischen Rückblick – eine thematisch abgeschlossene Gruppe von Quellen ins Auge gefaßt werden; aufgrund ikonographischer und archivalischer Zusammenhänge hoffen wir dann, einige charakteristische kulturgeschichtliche und musikalische Aspekte des Lebens an einem Teile der türkischen Grenze zu Westeuropa (*fig. 13*) erläutern zu können. Der besondere Bereich der Untersuchung ist die Feld- und Militärmusik, welche in diesem Gebiete – selbstverständlich zusammen mit der christlichen (katholischen und orthodoxen) Kirchenmusik und der Volksmusik – die einzige regulierte musikalische Aktivität war: Mangels anderer Formen professionellen Musizierens war diese Tätigkeit ein wichtiger Ausdruck kreativer Kräfte des Volkes, ein Pendant zur lebendigen

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1 Dragotin Cvetko, Musikgeschichte der Südslawen (Kassel und Maribor 1975).

volksmusikalischen Praxis. Zugleich weist dieser Bereich ein charakteristisches Nebeneinander und Nacheinander östlicher und westlicher Instrumente und Musizierformen auf.

Die jahrhundertelange türkische Herrschaft bedeutete für große Teile des heutigen Jugoslawien auch eine Unterbrechung der materiellen und kulturellen Entwicklung. In größeren Ortschaften kam es zur Assimilierung einiger Elemente der osmanischen Kultur und damit auch der Musikinstrumente und der Musizierpraxis; im kleinen christlichen Dorf indessen blieb es bei den alten slawischen Traditionen; man distanzierte sich bewußt von allem Türkischen, auch von der türkischen Musik. Erst mit den lockereren Lebensformen im 19. Jahrhundert, und nachdem sich die Türken allmählich aus Europa zurückgezogen hatten – der Wendepunkt war der Frieden in Karlovac (Carlstadt) 1699 –, kam es zur gegenseitigen Befruchtung orientalischer und slawischer Traditionen auf dem Balkan. Ein Relikt dieses Prozesses ist die in Jugoslawien in manchen Gegenden als autochthon empfundene Langhalslaute (»tamburica«, »tambura«), die türkischer Herkunft ist. Auch bei der Feld- oder Militärmusik kann man bei der überwiegend slawischen Bevölkerung an der Militärgrenze eine Vorliebe für türkische Instrumente und Aufführungspraktiken beobachten.

Eine Konstante dieser musikalischen Vorliebe ist das Zusammenspiel eines Blasinstrumentes mit einer Trommel. Diese Kombination ist aber auf dem Balkan auch vor der Türkenherrschaft verbreitet gewesen. Zunächst sind Blasinstrumente hier seit prähistorischer Zeit nachgewiesen, und als Kult- und Kriegsinstrumente finden wir sie im antiken Illyricum[2]; diesen vorgefundenen Instrumenten haben die Slawen bei ihrer Ansiedlung im 7. Jahrhundert ihre eigenen Instrumente hinzugefügt. Aus mittelalterlichen Quellen geht hervor, daß die auch anderorts in Europa in verschiedenen Varianten vorkommenden Kombinationen von Blasinstrument und Trommel in diesen Gegenden ebenfalls verwendet wurden. Dabei kommen verschiedene Formen von Blasinstrumenten vor – Einhandflöten, Doppelrohrblattinstrumente, Hörner u. a.[3]. Eindeutig dargestellte Businen als Zeichen feudaler Macht kommen hingegen in den Bildquellen selten vor. (Auf den Wandmalereien in Serbien und Mazedonien werden zudem auch Becken dargestellt.) Bildliche und archivalische Quellen beweisen also, daß diese Instrumente auch vor der Türkenherrschaft bei den slawischen Völkern auf dem Balkan beliebt waren, und zwar besonders im Zusammenspiel und bei Musikern im Dienste feudaler Herren, die – wie im Westen – organisierte Feldmusiken aus Blasinstrumenten und Trommeln oder kleinen Pauken unterhielten. Diese Instrumente spielten auch bei festlichen Gelegenheiten auf und wurden in Städten von ständig besoldeten Spielern gespielt. So ist es durchaus verständlich, daß wir neben realistischen Darstellungen von Kampfszenen, Jagdgefolgen usw. Trompete und Trommel oder Pauke auch als Symbole feudaler Herrschaft und des Militärwesens auf Porträts, Waffen und Wappen, Siegelstempeln und Urkunden, Grabsteinen und Denkmälern oder auch bloß bei der Prunkausstattung feudaler Räume immer wieder, und zwar kontinuierlich bis ins 20. Jahrhundert, finden. Diesen Topos wollen wir aber hier nicht weiter verfolgen, da er eine spezielle Untersuchung verlangt.

Mit der Ausdehnung der Türkenherrschaft wurde auf dem Balkan auch die offizielle türkische Feldmusik bekannt. Für die unterjochten Völker wurde sie bald zur alltäglichen Realität, während Besucher aus dem Westen, die auf der Durchreise über Serbien und Mazedonien in diplomatischen Missionen nach Constantinopel unterwegs waren, von den Klängen dieser Musik

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2 Josip Belamarić, ›Siringa u svojoj Ilirskoj postojbini‹ [Die Syrinx in ihrer Illyrischen Heimat], in: Arti Musices 14/1 (1983), pp. 23–32.
3 Koraljka Kos, Musikinstrumente im mittelalterlichen Kroatien (Zagreb 1972); Roksanda Pejović, Predstave muzičkih instrumenata u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji [Darstellungen der Musikinstrumente im mittelalterlichen Serbien] (Beograd 1984).

Fig. 1

meistens unangenehm beeindruckt waren und uns darüber auch Berichte hinterließen. So beschreibt u. a. Salomon Schweigger, der 1577 als Mitglied der Gesandtschaft Rudolfs II. den kaiserlichen Gesandten Joachim von Sinzendorf aus Wien nach Konstantinopel begleitete, eine türkische Feldmusik: In der Nähe von Smederevo traf die Gesandtschaft den Belgrader »Beglerbeg« (türkische Bezeichnung für eine Art feudalen Landeshauptmann), der mit einem großen Gefolge vorbeikam und zu Ehren des österreichischen Gesandten seiner Feldmusik zu spielen gebot. Schweigger vergleicht ihren Klang mit dem Lärm in einer Faßbinderei[4]. Auf dem hier abgebildeten Holzschnitt sind verschiedene türkische Instrumente dargestellt (*fig. 1*).

4 »[. . .] im Weitfeld musten wir still halten / bis sie vürüber kamen / er grüsset mein G. Herrn gar freundlich mit geneigtem Haupt / darneben ließ er seine Feldspiel mit Macht gehn / das war ein sehr holdselige liebliche Musica / als wenn die Bütner Fässer oder Schäffer binden.« Vgl. Salomon Schweigger, Ein newe Reyssbeschreibung auss Teutschland nach Constantinopel und Jerusalem (Nürnberg 1608, Johann Lantzenberger; repr. Graz 1964), p. 39. – Das hier abgebildete Bild (einer von 77 Holzschnitten, die Schweiggers Reisebericht illustrieren; *fig. 1*) wird auf den Seiten 207–210 beschrieben und kommentiert; es erscheint dort (auf Seite 208) zum zweiten Male – auch sonst kommt es in diesem Werke manchmal vor, daß dieselben Bilder wiederholt gedruckt worden sind. Bei der Beschreibung der dargestellten Instrumente ordnet der Autor sein Material nach der Zugehörigkeit zu verschiedenen gesellschaftlichen Gruppen: I. Fraueninstrumente (beim Tanz und Gesang): Kastagnetten (nicht dargestellt) und Schellentrommel; II. Feldspielinstrumente (von Männern gebraucht): Trompete, Schalmei, Trommel, Becken, kleine Pauken; diese Instrumente werden bei Feldzügen, Hochzeiten, an Festtagen, bei Hofe gebraucht; III. Populäre Instrumente, die man beim gemeinen »Pöfel« (= Pöbel) und besonders bei jungen Gesellen findet: ein Instrument, das »unser Cithara nicht ungleich ist / welches sie mit einem Federen Griffel schlagen /« (Seite 209; offensichtlich eine Laute, wie auch das Bild zeigt) und ein Instrument, welches »sihet einem Kochlöffel gleich / dann es ein solchen langen Kragen / und ein kleinen Bauch hat /« – offensichtlich eine Tambura (Langhalslaute mit flachem Boden); IV. Instrumente die man bei Juden findet: Harfe und Laute. – Demnach solle man die in der jugoslawischen Musikwissenschaft oft wiederholte Annahme berichtigen, daß auf dem Bilde auf Seite 39 und 208 der Reisebeschreibung von Schweigger die »Musik des

Mehrere ausführliche Beschreibungen türkischer Musik, darunter auch der Feldmusik, enthält die Reisebeschreibung ›Historia Magnae Legationis Caesareae [...]‹ von Gerhard Cornelius Driesch. In der Gesandtschaft, die 1719 den Grafen Damianus Hugo von Virmont von Wien nach Konstantinopel geleitete, hatte Driesch als Sekretär des Grafen die Aufgabe, ausführlich Tagebuch zu führen. Auftrag der Gesandtschaft war, dem türkischen Sultan einen Friedensvertrag zwischen dem Reich und der Türkei zu überbringen. In der Nähe des heutigen Paraćin in Serbien, an der Grenze beider Kaisertümer, traf die österreichische Gesandtschaft mit der türkischen zusammen, die in gleicher Mission von Konstantinopel nach Wien unterwegs war. Driesch beschreibt nun das feierliche Zeremoniell der Begrüßung beider Gesandtschaften und den Grenzübergang, wobei auf beiden Seiten Feldmusik erklang. Aus der Beschreibung kann man geradezu ein Aufeinanderprallen zweier Musikwelten und Musikauffassungen erahnen. Unter dem Titel »Plausius militum post Permutationem« folgt der Bericht:

> »Dici non potest, quantâ gaudii testificatione, id est, vociferatione, in adventu, reditúque Ducum suorum, aut magnâ aliquâ laetitiâ adhiberi solitâ, manum, pedúmque complosione, atque instrumentorum Musicorum, hoc est, cymbalorum, tibiarum, ac tympanorum minorum, & grandium amoeno, ùt ipsi credebant, ùt nobis videbatur, agresti sonitu, machinarum suarum tam muralium, quâm manualium mugitu, hunc actum Barbari prosecuti sint, [...] Tubicines nostros, & tympanistam, reliquámque Musicam attonitis similes suspexêre, & admirati sunt.«[5]

Im weiteren Verlauf der Reise, und zwar in der Nähe von Niš, wurde die Gesandtschaft noch einmal durch eine türkische Musik geehrt. Nach türkischem Brauch war nämlich eine fremde Gesandtschaft, solange sie auf ihrem Weg vom Gouverneur einer Provinz begleitet wurde, auch von einer Feldmusik zu begleiten. Die österreichische Gesandtschaft allerdings scheint von dieser Ehre nicht besonders beglückt gewesen zu sein. Driesch berichtet:

> »Mos apud ipsos erat, quod antea quoque paucis indicavi, & postea saepius observavi, ut quotiens provinciae Gubernator, aut ê potentioribus aliquis iter facit, Musicorum chorus eundem praecedat, qui per viam indesinenter moduletur, &, quando quiescit, statis in die temporibus, videlicet cum orandum est, concentus suos edat. Unde quamdiu Seraskierius cum Oratore mansit, Turcicorum, quà incessimus, instrumentorum Musicorum tinnitus aures nostras ferîit potius, quâm delectavit, accedente praesertim acclamatione festâ clientum, servorùmque [...].«[6]

Während der Fahrt des kaiserlichen Gesandten mit Gefolge durch Niš, rief seine Feldmusik und seine Fahne eine heftige negative Reaktion im Janitscharen-Spalier hervor.

Belgrader Beglerbegs« dargestellt sei. Schweigger hat auf seinem Holzschnitt alle (oder fast alle) türkischen Instrumente dargestellt, und zwar im Rahmen des Kapitels mit dem Titel: »Von der Türcken Heyrath / Hochzeiten / dölpischen Music / Ehescheydung / Copulation vnd Hausrath«. Nur einen Teil der dargestellten Instrumente – es sind diejenigen, die in der Gruppe II oben angegeben sind, also die Instrumente der Feldmusik – dürfte der Beglerbeg von Belgrad in seinem »Feldspiel« gehabt haben.

5 »Es ist nicht zu sagen, mit welcher Freudenbezeugung, d. h. Geschrei, wie es bei der Ankunft und Rückkehr ihrer Führer oder irgendeinem großen freudigen Ereignis üblich ist, die Barbaren diesen Akt begleiteten: mit Zusammenschlagen von Händen und Füßen und mit dem Klang von Musikinstrumenten, d. h. von Becken, Pfeifen und kleinen und großen Pauken, einem Klang, der ihnen lieblich, uns bäurisch erschien, und mit dem Brüllen ihrer Belagerungs- und Hand(feuer)waffen. [...] Unsere Trompeter und den Tambour und die übrige Musik bestaunten und bewunderten sie als wären sie vom Donner gerührt.« Zitiert nach Gerardus Cornelius Driesch, Historia Magnae Legationis Caesareae quam suscepti comes Damianus Hugo Virmondtius (Wien 1721, Andreas Heyinger), Teil II, pp. 118f. (deutsche Ausgabe: Augsburg 1722 u. ö., Mertz und Mayer).

6 »Bei ihnen war es Sitte, was ich früher schon mit wenigen Worten angedeutet und später häufiger beobachtet habe, daß, so oft ein Provinzgouverneur oder irgendeiner von den Ranghöheren auf Reisen geht, ein Musikercorps ihnen vorauszieht, das auf dem Wege unablässig spielt und, wenn er Station macht, zu festgesetzten Zeiten am Tage, offensichtlich wenn gebetet werden muß, seine Klänge hervorbringt. Daher ist, solange der Seraskier dem Redner (Großbotschafter) verweilte, wo wir einhergingen, das Geklingel der türkischen Musikinstrumente unsere Ohren mehr verletzt als erfreut, zumal da die festliche Akklamation der Klienten hinzukam und der Sklaven [...]« Zitiert nach Driesch (Fußnote 5), Teil II, p. 121.

Im zweiten Teil seines Reiseberichts schreibt Driesch ausführlich über die Musik des Bassa von Chaskoy:

»Baschae Caskoiensis Musica: Per hósce dies Turcarum in castris Musica denuò audiebatur. Praesens enim erat *Bascha*, quorum singuli eandem, quocunque pergunt, semper una sécum circumferunt. Consistebat illa ex fidibus, & tibiis, circulis aliquot ligneis membranâ simpliciter tectis, haud multum elevatis, aere variis locis inserto, cymbalorum, & crotalorum ad similitudinem, quae versa, & concussa tinnitum variè cierent, tympanis majoribus V. minoribus binis; haec corii fructo, & per vices tantùm, illa baculo, cochlearis in morem rotundo, manu alterâ parte superiore indesinenter, atque alterâ non nunquam tenui virgulto, parte non eâdem, sed inferiore, percutiebantur, ut diversum â priore sonum ederent.«[7]

Ein weiteres, bisher unveröffentlichtes Dokument berichtet über die Musik eines türkischen Gesandten auf der Durchreise durch Osijek (Esseg) auf dem Weg nach Buda und Wien im Jahre 1740. Es ist ein Brief an Bischof Georg Branjug (1677–1748), den ihm sein Gutsverwalter in Požega, Nikola Šimunčević am 15. Juli 1740 nach Zagreb (Agram) geschrieben hat.

»[...] Der türkische Gesandte vel legatus die 29 junii zog durch Osijek summa cum pompa Turcarum und seiner türkischen Musik; ich war gerade in der Nähe, als er kam. Zuerst gingen zwei alte Fahnenträger mit weissen Bärten und in roter Seide, dann zwei seiner Conciliare auf Pferden, umgeben von türkischen Soldaten zu Fuß, die Pferde führten, dann kamen unsere Ungarn und Reiter, und nachher gingen schön ausgestattete und zu zweit, wie in einer Prozession eingereihte Leute, sodann der Gesandte selbst zu Pferde, umgeben von etwa 100 Türken mit Speeren und hinter ihm 50 Janitscharen mit Gewehren; dann folgten 7 Zurnenspieler und 9 Tympanisten, 6 Trompeter und 10 mit kleinen Pauken, und dann noch 4 Leute, die etwas wie zwei Teller aneinander schlugen. Nur dass es Lärm gibt et nihil ad rem; 175 große Kamele läuten ohrenbetäubend, sie trugen so viele kleine Glöckchen wie kein Turm sie enthält. Ich kann nicht recht sagen, ad numerum wieviele Türken es waren, ich glaube etwa 700, wenn nicht mehr. [...] Er war zwei Tage vor Osijek und ritt mehrmals in die Stadt mit seinem ganzen Pomp per moenia und mit der Musik [...].«[8]

Aus dieser malerischen Beschreibung entnehmen wir wieder, welchen Eindruck die türkische Feldmusik auf nicht gewöhnte, in der Tradition der westeuropäischen Musik erzogene Hörer gemacht hat.

<p style="text-align:center">* * *</p>

Als sich seit dem 15. Jahrhundert Europa immer mehr der Türkengefahr ausgesetzt sah, versuchte man im Rahmen des Ungarischen Reiches (mit welchem Kroatien seit 1102 durch Personalunion verbunden war) einen Verteidigungsgürtel gegen die Türkei aufzubauen[9]. Dies

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7 »Die Musik des Chaskoy-Bassa: Diese Tage hindurch war im Lager der Türken erneut [die] Musik zu hören. Ein Bassa war nämlich anwesend: wohin diese sich auch immer begeben, führen sie – jeder einzelne – dieselbe [sc. Musik, das Musikcorps] mit sich. Sie bestand aus Saiteninstrumenten und Pfeifen, aus einigen hölzernen Reifen, die auf einfache Weise mit einer Membran bespannt sind, nicht sehr hoch – an verschiedenen Stellen ist Erz eingesetzt –, vergleichbar den Zymbeln und Klappern, die gewendet und geschüttelt ein Geklingel verschiedener Art hervorbringen, aus je zwei großen und kleinen Trommeln. Diese werden mit einem Schlägel aus Leder und nur abwechselnd geschlagen, jene mit einem schneckenartig gewundenen Stock, und zwar mit der einen Hand unablässig auf der Oberseite, mit der anderen [Hand] bisweilen mit einem dünnen Stab, nicht auf derselben Seite, sondern auf der Unterseite, so daß sie einen von dem ersteren verschiedenen Klang von sich geben.« Zitiert nach Driesch (Fußnote 5), Teil II, p. 263. [Für die Übersetzung der in den Fußnoten 5–7 angeführten Zitate bin ich Frau Hildegard Cancik-Lindemaier (Tübingen) dankbar.]

8 Zitiert nach: Erzbischöfliches Archiv, Zagreb, Epistolae ad episcopos, die Korrespondenz von Bischof Juraj Branjug, vol. LXXXVIII, no. 102 (Übersetzung aus dem Kroatischen von der Autorin). Professor Ladislav Šaban, der mich auf diese Quelle aufmerksam gemacht hat und mir seine Abschrift des Textes zur Verfügung gestellt hat, drücke ich hiermit meinen herzlichen Dank aus.

9 Dazu: Vojna Krajina u Hrvatskoj. U povodu stote godišnjice pripojenja Vojne Krajine civilnoj Hrvatskoj [Die Militärgrenze in Kroatien. Anläßlich des 100. Jahrestages der Vereinigung der Militärgrenze mit Zivil-Kroatien], Povijesni muzej Hrvatske, Ausstellungskatalog (Zagreb 1981).

geschah zunächst spontan, auf kroatischem Gebiet, in welchem sich eine ethnisch bunt gemischte Bevölkerung herausbildete, nachdem ein Teil der ansässigen Bevölkerung nach dem Westen geflüchtet war und unter dem Druck der Türken neue Flüchtlinge aus dem Südosten deren Platz einnahmen. Als der Habsburger Ferdinand I. im Jahre 1527 zum kroatischen König gewählt worden war, übernahm Österreich auch die Verpflichtung zur Verteidigung des Landes, und das Grenzgebiet wurde in einen militärischen Verwaltungsbezirk umgewandelt, das sogenannte »Kroatische Grenzland« – Vojna Krajina oder Granica –, das dem Hofkriegsrat in Graz und später in Wien unmittelbar unterstellt war. Dieser einzigartige militärische Verwaltungsbezirk, in dem alle Bewohner einerseits als Bauern, andererseits als militärpflichtige Soldaten einer doppelten Last ausgesetzt waren, hat durch drei Jahrhunderte Westeuropa vor der Türkengefahr geschützt. (Die Kroatische Militärgrenze wurde erst 1881, lange nach dem Abebben der Türkengefahr, durch ein Manifest von Kaiser Franz Joseph I. mit Zivil-Kroatien wieder vereinigt.) Nach der Reorganisation der bisher irregulären Nationaltruppen durch Kaiserin Maria Theresia wurden die Grenztruppen in Infanterie-Regimenter umgewandelt. Nach dem territorialen Prinzip wurde die Kroatische und Slawonische Militärgrenze im Jahre 1742 und 1746 organisiert, es folgten die »Banska« Grenze, dessen Leiter der jeweilige Banus von Kroatien war (1750), und etwas später, auf dem Territorium des heutigen Ungarn, die Siebenbürgische (1762) und Banater Militärgrenze (1765).

Bevor wir unsere Aufmerksamkeit der Feld- und Militärmusik im Kroatisch-Slawonischen Grenzland zuwenden, eine allgemeine Bemerkung: Wenn man die Musik, über deren bildliche Darstellungen hier berichtet wird, einstufen wollte, so müßte man sie wohl Militärmusik nennen[10]. Sie ist aber keine Militärmusik, jedenfalls zunächst nicht, weil die Einheiten, denen sie zugehörte, gar keine militärischen Einheiten im engeren Sinne sind. Ähnliches gilt für die Ausführenden: Ob und inwiefern es sich um Militärmusiker handelte, muß offen bleiben. Daß die Zigeuner eine bedeutende Rolle in der Musik an der Militärgrenze spielten, ist fraglos; ob die Spieler aber ausschließlich Zigeuner waren, ist nicht zu sagen. Man kann vielmehr annehmen, daß auch im Grenzgebiet seßhafte Slawen (vor allem Serben und Kroaten) oder Flüchtlinge aus dem türkischen Gebiet, die man allgemein »Türken« nannte, obwohl sie keine waren, diese Instrumente spielen konnten. Alle diese Musiker waren Halbprofessionelle auf ihre Weise. Professionelle oder halbprofessionelle Musiker aus anderen österreichischen Ländern, besonders aus der Tschechei, kamen erst nach der Reform des Milizsystems in Betracht.

Da diese Musik in gewisser Weise (wenigstens bis zur Reform der Militärgrenze) türkische Musik ist, taucht auch hier die Frage auf, ob sie innerhalb derselben, etwa unter Janitscharenmusik, einzuordnen wäre[11]. Aber auch dies trifft nicht zu. Vielmehr handelt es sich offenbar um ein musikalisches Phänomen sui generis, von dem die hier diskutierten bildlichen Darstellungen berichten, und es will für sich behandelt werden. Ob dabei alle relevanten Einflüsse schon beim ersten Mal erkannt werden können, darf man wohl bezweifeln.

Die erste bekannte und zugleich wichtigste Quelle für die Musik im Kroatisch-Slawonischen Grenzgebiet ist die berühmte Serie von Graphiken ›Théâtre de la Milice Étrangère‹, die der Augsburger Kupferstecher und Verleger Martin Engelbrecht (1684–1756) herausgegeben hat. Die 151 kolorierten Kupferstiche dieser Serie (der Autor ist vermutlich Gennaro Basile [1722–1782])

10 Georg Kandler, ›Militärmusik‹, in: Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, vol. 9 (Kassel 1961), cols. 305–335.
11 Henry George Farmer, ›Janitscharenmusik‹, in: Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, vol. 6 (Kassel 1957), cols. 1706–1709; und Henry George Farmer und James Blades, ›Janissary Music‹, in: The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, vol. 9 (London 1980), pp. 496–498.

erschienen in Augsburg zwischen 1742 und 1749[12]. Neben Engelbrecht haben an dieser Ausgabe noch Albrecht Schmid (1685–1744), Elias Beck (1679–1747) und David Mehrer (ca. 1685–1747) mitgearbeitet. Der größte Teil der Sammlung besteht aus Stichen von Soldaten der österreichischen Armee, darunter vielen von der Militärgrenze gegen die Türken. Die Titel und erläuternden Verse unter den Bildern kommentieren, oft auf geistreiche Art, Herkunft und Lebensweise der dargestellten Grenzer. Die Bilder selbst geben reiche Auskunft über das Leben innerhalb des Gebietes der Militärgrenze. Mit Motiven aus dem Soldatenalltag, Soldaten beim Essen, bei Übung und Tanz, beim Abschied von Mutter und Frau, Grenzer-Frauen auf der Flucht mit dem Bündel auf dem Rücken und den Kindern an der Hand, Rast nach den Übungen, kurzum: In vielen bunten Genre-Szenen wird das Leben im Grenzgebiet geschildert. Die erläuternden Verse preisen vor allem den Mut der Grenzsoldaten, aber sie verschweigen nicht ihre Gewohnheit zu plündern. Manchmal rührt uns aber das harte Schicksal dieser derben Leute – die mit ihren Leibern ein »antimurale Christianitatis« für Europa bildeten.

Eine Betrachtung der im ›Théâtre de la Milice Étrangère‹ und auf einigen anderen Graphiken aus Engelbrechts Werkstatt dargestellten Instrumente zeigt zunächst, daß die Feldmusik im Grenzgebiet im Vergleich mit den pompösen türkischen Ensembles recht bescheiden war. Sie bestand im Grunde nur aus jeweils zwei Instrumenten: einem schalmeiartigen Blasinstrument, türkisch »zurna« genannt, und einer Trommel. Dieses kleine Ensemble ist aber der Kern aller türkischen Musik: ein schrilles melodisches Instrument und ein Rhythmusinstrument für die Bewegung.

Mehrmals ist auf den Graphiken allerdings auch eine Trommel allein dargestellt, und zwar nicht nur gespielt, sondern auch als bloßes Utensil des Trommlers, der sie auf dem Rücken schleppt (*fig. 2*) oder als Stütze bei der Rast benützt.

Für das Trommelschlagen kann man auf den Darstellungen zwei verschiedene Praktiken beobachten: entweder wird die Trommel nur auf einer Seite geschlagen, auf die im Westen übliche Art (*fig. 3*), oder auf türkische Weise beidseitig. Zu dieser östlichen Art des Trommelschlages möchten wir zunächst zwei textliche Belege aus dem 17. und 18. Jahrhundert anführen.

Der Franzose M. Quiclet, der als Mitglied einer Gesandtschaft im Jahre 1658 durch Dalmatien und Bosnien über Serbien nach Konstantinopel reiste, hat mit viel Verständnis und Einfühlung verschiedene Volksbräuche beschrieben, darunter auch das Spielen türkischer Soldaten im Dorf Rača am Fluß Sava. Hier wurde für seine Gesandtschaft von den einheimischen Soldaten eine Serenade aufgeführt, dabei wurde gesungen und auf einer Sackpfeife, auf Zurnen und dumpfen Trommeln gespielt. Die Trommel wurde auf einer Seite mit einem gebogenen Stock geschlagen, dessen Ende die Form eines Apfels hatte, auf der anderen mit einer Art kleiner Keule. Bei der Abfahrt am nächsten Tag wurde die Gesandtschaft unter Zurnenklängen und Trommelschlägen verabschiedet[13].

Auch Gerhard Cornelius Driesch beschreibt in seinem schon erwähnten Bericht diese Art des Trommelschlagens[14] und betont richtig, daß es dabei wohl auf den verschiedenen Klang der beiden Trommelseiten ankommt.

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12 Den Mitarbeitern des Historischen Museums und des Archivs Kroatiens in Zagreb, die mir ermöglicht haben, die Graphiken zu besichtigen, bin ich zu Dank verpflichtet.
13 Les Voyages de M. Quiclet à Constantinople par terre. Enrichis d'annotations par le Sieur P(romé) M(archand) L(ibraire) (Paris 1664, Pierre Bienfait), pp. 99 f.
14 Vgl. oben Seite 113 den Abschnitt »Baschae Caskoiensis Musica« mit Fußnote 7.

In Engelbrechts Sammlung wird diese Art des Trommelspiels auf der Darstellung eines slawonischen Trommelschlägers realistisch festgehalten (*fig. 4*). Der Spieler ist auf türkische Weise bekleidet und gehört offenbar zu den Pandurentruppen des Barons von Trenck (siehe unten). Das beidseitige Trommelspiel wird bei Engelbrecht übrigens auch ohne einen unmittelbaren Zusammenhang mit einer bildlichen Darstellung erwähnt, vermutlich darum, weil es für den Betrachter aus dem Westen ungewohnt war. So ist unter dem Bildnis des ›In das Feld gehenden und mit Waffen wohl versehenen Morlacken oder Dalmatiners‹ (fol. 80), der natürlich ohne Instrumente dargestellt ist, die folgende Bemerkung zu lesen (ausnahmsweise in Prosa):

»Deren Feld-Music besteht in einer türkischen Schalmey und einer messingeren [sic] Trommel, welche oben mit einem Schlegel und unten mit einem Riefel gespielt wird.«

Von den Blasinstrumenten finden wir auf Engelbrechts Graphiken am häufigsten zwei Formen der Schalmei: eine lange Form, die noch heute in der Volksmusik der Mazedonier und in Albanien als »zurnā oder »zurla« bekannt ist, in Istrien als »sopila»[15], und eine kurze Form. Das lange Instrument wird in zwei Größen hergestellt und meistens auch paarweise gespielt, in den südlichen und östlichen Teilen Jugoslawiens oft mit Trommelbegleitung. Dieses Doppelrohrblattinstrument mit konischer Bohrung hat einen obertonreichen schrillen Klang. Wo es paarweise gespielt wird, entsteht eine Art Heterophonie. Auf Engelbrechts Kupferstichen erscheint es einzeln, in sorgfältiger Ausarbeitung; die Haltung des Spielers ist realistisch (*fig. 5*). Auf einer von den Darstellungen (fol. 54) wird das Instrument allerdings seitlich angeblasen, was technisch nicht möglich ist (und deshalb auch in der heutigen Musikpraxis nicht vorkommt).

Auf einigen von den Darstellungen in Engelbrechts Sammlung erscheint paarweise auch eine ganz kurze Form eines Blasinstrumentes, welches – nach den aufgeblasenen Backen der Spieler zu urteilen – auch zu den Doppelrohrblattinstrumenten gehört (*fig. 6*). Noch vor kurzer Zeit (bis etwa 1960) gab es in der Banija (einem Teil der ehemaligen Militärgrenze) einzigartige kurze Holzblasinstrumente, eine Art primitiver Oboen mit Doppelrohrblatt und konischer Bohrung, im Klang den größeren mazedonischen Zurnen oder den istrischen Sopilen verwandt, doch mit etwas schwächerem Tonvolumen und schrillerem Klang. Da sie nur fortissimo geblasen wurden, erzeugten sie nur überblasene Töne. Die Spieler der »svirala«[16], wie das Instrument in der Banija genannt wurde, musizierten immer zu zweit und auf Instrumenten gleicher Größe, heterophonisch, und immer auch mit Begleitung der kleinen banischen Trommel von länglicher walzenartiger Form, die – allem Anschein nach – eine verkleinerte Landsknechttrommel war, aber nach türkischer Art beidseitig geschlagen wurde. Über diese Kombination, die wir als ein Spezifikum der Volksmusik der meisten jugoslawischen Völker bezeichnen können oder als eine Variante der altertümlichen »pipe and drum«-Besetzung, sprechen historische Quellen und bildliche Darstellungen. Einige davon haben wir schon erwähnt. Bei Engelbrecht wird sie ausdrücklich in einer von den Beischriften apostrophiert (fol. 54):

»Ein Pfeiffer in dem Feld ermuntert die Soldaten,
Wann mit dem Trommelspiel sie recht vereinigt ist.
Dann unter deren Klang, verrichtet Mars viel Thaten,

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15 Über Sopila (Sopelo) und Zurna siehe: Božidar Širola, Sopile i zurle (Zagreb 1932; = Etnološka biblioteka XVII); ferner auch Riemann Musik Lexikon, Sachteil (Mainz 1967); über Zurna auch den Artikel von Peter Cooke in: The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians vol. 20 (London 1980), pp. 720f.
16 Stjepan Stepanov, ›Svirale i bubanj na Baniji‹ [Schalmeien und Trommel in Banija], in: Rad VII-og kongresa saveza folklorista Jugoslavije u Ohridu 1960. godine (Ohrid 1963), pp. 283–296.

Fig. 2

Fig. 3

Fig. 4

Fig. 5

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So wohl im Marsch als Streit, mit Macht und Krieges List.«
(›Ein Feld Pfeiffer bei den Carlstättischen Trouppen‹)

Die Schalmei-Trommel-Besetzung ist auch auf einer unsignierten, wohl aus derselben Zeit (18. Jahrhundert) stammenden Graphik zu sehen, die ein Freiwilligencorps aus Slawonien unter der Leitung Harum-Baschas darstellt[17]. Laut Kommentar hat dieses Corps an den Schlesischen Kriegen teilgenommen. Es gehörte offensichtlich zu den Truppen des Barons Franz von Trenck, der 1741 auf österreichischer Seite mit seinen Panduren in Schlesien kämpfte.

Es ist auch interessant, die Kleidung der dargestellten Grenzer mit den von ihnen gespielten Instrumenten in Zusammenhang zu bringen. Teilweise ist die dargestellte Kleidung ausgesprochen türkisch, da ja die eingewanderten Flüchtlinge aus den östlichen und südlichen Gegenden seit dem 16. Jahrhundert auch vieles aus der osmanischen Welt mitbrachten. Es war aber in der österreichischen Armee üblich, daß man gefangene Türken oder als Türken bekleidete Soldaten für die sogenannte »Türkische Musik« verwendete.

Einige der Grenzer tragen eine undefinierbare Mischkleidung, während auf einigen Kupferstichen die Spieler in den unifizierten Uniformen der österreichischen Armee dargestellt sind. Es ist bewiesen, daß sich die Soldaten der Grenzgegenden lange gegen die offiziellen Uniformen der österreichischen Armee gewehrt haben, mit der Erkärung, daß sie wegen solcher Kleidung von den Türken verhöhnt und »Weiber« genannt würden. So setzte sich die unifizierte Bekleidung der Grenzsoldaten nur langsam durch. Der Wandel hat unter der Regierung von Kaiserin Maria Theresia begonnen, die um die Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts eine Reorganisation der Grenztruppen zu regulierten »K. K. National-Gränzregimentern« vornahm und durchführte; dadurch entstand aus einer Art spontaner Nationaltruppen zur Sicherung der Südostgrenzen des Reiches gegen die Türken eine regulierte Militärzone. Diese Neuorganisation hat auch allmählich und nach langjährigem Beharren auf alten Bräuchen zur Umwandlung des in der Feld-Musik verwendeten Instrumentariums geführt. Ein Zeichen dieser Umwandlung ist auf der Graphik mit dem offiziell uniformierten Spieler einer Flöte mit dem stolzen Titel ›Ein Pfeiffer von dem in A° 1746 neu regulierten Graff Petazzischen Carlstätter Regiment‹ zu sehen (*fig. 7*; vgl. auch *fig. 3*).

Auf allen Graphiken der erwähnten Sammlung kann man einen engen Zusammenhang zwischen Uniform und Instrument beobachten: östliche (volkstümliche) Blasinstrumente werden nur von türkisch oder undefinierbaren, bäuerlich bekleideten Soldaten gespielt. Die in österreichischen Uniformen dargestellten Spieler haben immer auch ein Instrument der westlichen Militärmusik (Trompete, Flöte) in der Hand. Auch bei den Trommeln sehen wir dies trotz einer gewissen Variabilität in der Anschlagsart: bei den türkisch oder bäuerlich bekleideten Spielern wird die Trommel entweder beidseitig oder einseitig, also auf östliche oder auf westliche Art gespielt; die offiziell uniformierten Soldaten aber schlagen eine Trommel nie auf türkische Art, stets nur einseitig.

Die Funktion der dargestellten Instrumente wird oft durch die den Bildern unterlegten Texte erläutert. Einige, die vom Zusammenspiel der Schalmeien und Trommel sprechen, haben wir schon erwähnt. Andere apostrophieren die Funktion dieser Instrumente, die beim Marsch, Kampf, als Begleitung beim Fechten und Chargieren dienen, oder sie loben die Signalfunktion der Trommel, wie z. B. die mit derbem Humor durchtränkten Verse (fol. 23):

»Des Trommelschlägers Aufzug ist mit Lob auch zu erheben,
Da er so wohl mit Spiel als Waffen ausgeziert,

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17 Arhiv Hrvatske, Zagreb, Inv. Nr. 1075.

Fig. 6

Fig. 7

Fig. 8

Es können Resonanz die weiten Hosen geben,
Wann er zum Marsch und Streit fein frisch die Trommel rührt.«[18]
(›Ein Trommelschläger bei den Panduren‹)

Über die Bedeutung des Trommel- und Schalmeispiels in der Regulierung militärischer Aktion heißt es an einer anderen Stelle (›Ein König.-Ung. Feld-Pfeiffer‹):

»Wann uns der Oberist ins Feld tut commandieren,
So muß der Tambour dann dabey die Trommel rühren,
So läßt Husar, Pandur zugleich den Säbel blitzen,
Ich pfeiff dazu den Marsch, wann all zu Pferde sitzen.« (Albrecht Schmid)[19]

(Der Marsch dient hier also zur Stimulierung der allgemeinen Bewegung, zur psychischen Aufmunterung und ist nicht eine im heutigen Sinne den Schritt ordnende Bewegung.)

Auf die Funktion des Trommelspiels im geselligen Alltag der Grenzer wird auch mehrmals hingewiesen (fol. 140):

»Ich pfleg zum marchiren, zum fechten, chargiren,
Zum Tantzen, zum Springen die Trommel zu rühren.«

heißt es unter dem Bilde ›Ein Trommel Schläger von Carlstatt‹ (*fig. 3*), was auf die engste Verbindung der Grenzspieler und ihrer Instrumente mit Volkstanz und Volksmusizieren hinweist.

Auf einigen Kupferstichen wird auch der Tanz dargestellt, so z. B. auf einem Blatt (Arhiv Hrvatske, Inv. Nr. 1167) mit einem temperamentvoll, fast grotesk hüpfenden Paar und folgendem Kommentar (*fig. 8*):

»Die trollige Postur, das curieuse Springen,
So diß Schlawacken Paar bey seinem Tanzen macht,
Kann den, dem dieses Blatt vor Augen wird gebracht,
Theils in Verwunderung, theils auch zum Lachen bringen.«

Ein anderer Stich aus Engelbrechts Werkstatt (Arhiv Hrvatske, Inv. Nr. 1201) zeigt einen Ringtanz der Grenzer mit Begleitung der kurzen Pfeife (Svirala; *fig. 9*). Die erläuternden Verse lauten:

»Der fröliche Pandur vertreibt die lange Zeit
Mit einem fremden Tanz, in lauter Frölichkeit,
Sein Muth verdoppelt sich durch Hüpfen und durch Springen,
So muß ihm auch der Krieg bißweilen Freude bringen.«

Der Titel dieses Bildes – Chorea velitum Pannoniorum – und der Hinweis »fremder Tanz« im zweiten Vers können vielleicht gerade auf den autochthonen Ursprung des dargestellten Tanzes hinweisen: Es ist offenbar ein in Slawonien und Ungarn verbreiteter Tanz gewesen, der im westlichen Europa zur Zeit der Herstellung der Engelbrechtschen Graphiken in dieser Form unbekannt war.

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18 Arhiv Hrvatske, Zagreb, Inv. Nr. 1135.
19 Arhiv Hrvatske, Zagreb, Inv. Nr. 1079.

Fig. 9

Fig. 10

Am Rande des Soldatenlebens im Grenzgebiet sei noch eine musikalische Erscheinung erwähnt, die im engsten Zusammenhang mit den bescheidenen Lebensfreuden der Bevölkerung stand. Es ist die Person der Marketenderin, die den Soldaten Nahrung, Branntwein, – auch Liebe verkaufte. Eine von den Graphiken stellt eine solche Frau in slawonischer Volkstracht dar, die auf einer Drehleier spielt. Das Instrument, das zu dieser Zeit seinen hohen Rang längst eingebüßt hatte und nur noch Bettlern und Vagabunden diente, ist hier merkwürdigerweise ohne Tastatur dargestellt (*fig. 10*). Zur Seite der Frau steht ein verkleinerter Pandur, mit einer kurzen Schalmei (Svirala) in der einen und einem Glas in der anderen Hand. Daß der Kleine ein Soldat und nicht ein Kind der Frau ist, geht nicht nur aus seiner Kleidung, sondern auch aus dem erläuternden Text hervor:

> »Ich leyre Tag und Nacht und schencke Brandewein,
> Sauff munterer Pandur, er schleichet selbst hinein,
> Und solltest du davon zu große Hitze fühlen,
> So will ich dir dazu praff auf der Leyre spihlen.«

Auf der Vignette, die die geographische Karte Slawoniens ziert (Wien 1745, Homanns Erben)[20], ist als Dekoration eine Gruppe von Grenzern in zerrissenen Uniformen zu sehen; neben der Soldatengruppe, in der unteren Ecke des Bildnisses sitzt eine leierspielende Marketenderin. Symbol der Verwüstung und des Elends, in dem sich zu dieser Zeit die Grenzgebiete befanden oder realistische Darstellung mit dem Charakter einer Genre-Szene? Wahrscheinlich beides (*fig. 11*)!

Unter dem Titelmedaillon der Karte sieht man die Beine zweier Feldmusikanten, von denen der eine eine Trommel, der andere vermutlich eine Schalmei spielt; ein dritter Musikant in der linken Soldatengruppe bläst auf einer leicht gebogenen Schalmei. Alle drei sind einheitlich türkisch gekleidet.

Die Feldmusik der Grenzer wurde auch außerhalb des Grenzgebietes bekannt. Sie gelangte zu übernationalem Ruhm in den »Türkischen Banden« des Panduren-Führers, des slawonischen Barons Franz von Trenck (1711–1749). Auf seinem Zug nach Schlesien 1741 brachte der berüchtigte Trenck, dessen freiwillige Truppen sich durch ihre Heldentaten sogar bei Kaiserin Maria Theresia beliebt gemacht hatten, seine türkische Musik nach Wien: dort machte sie bei einer großen Parade vor der Kaiserin am 27. Mai 1741 besonderen Eindruck[21]:

> »Von dar wendeten sich Allerhöchstgedacht Ihre Königl. Majestät zu denen Panduren welche unter Commando ihres Obrist-Wachtmeisters Hrn. Baron von Trenck in 20 Frey-Compagnien von 50 Mann mit 4 Türkischen Trommeln und dergleichen Schalmeyen ohne Fahnen paradirten auf Rätzische Art gekleidet und vol bewafnet waren. [...]«

Auch Trenck selbst berichtet in seinen Memoiren, daß er seine Musik nach türkischem Vorbild zusammengestellt habe und daß der Eindruck auf die Zuhörer stets überwältigend gewesen sei. In seiner zwölf Mann starken Musikbanda, die wie alle seine Soldaten türkisch gekleidet war,

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20 Inschrift oberhalb der Karte: »Carte du Royaume d'Esclavonie et du Duché de Syrmie, dont l'un et l'autre est arrosé par le Danube, l'Illove, la Save et la Drave.« – Inschrift auf der Vignette, die die türkischen Musiker darstellt: »Tabula Geographica exhibens Regnum Sclavoniae cum Syrmii Ducatu ex mappa grandiori desumta et in lucem edita ab Hommanianis Heredibus A. MDCCXXXXV. C. P. S. C. M. Gr.« – Die Karte befindet sich in der Kartensammlung des Historischen Archivs in Osijek, ohne Signatur.

21 Wienerisches Diarium, 31. Mai 1741, no. 43, p. 456. Für das Aufsuchen dieses Zitats bin ich Herrn Zdravko Blažeković dankbar.

Fig. 11

Fig. 12

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befand sich – nach seiner Beschreibung – neben Schalmeien und Becken auch eine große Trommel, auf der mit Schlägeln verschiedener Größe gespielt wurde[22].

Trencks Gestalt ist in einem zeitgenössischen graphischen Porträt festgehalten. Im Hintergrund sehen wir türkisch bekleidete Schalmei- und Trommelspieler[23].

* * *

Geographisch nicht weit entfernt von der Militärgrenze, in Nordkroatien, unterhielten feudale Herrscher seit alten Zeiten offensichtlich nach westlichem Vorbild zusammengesetzte Feld- und Militärmusiken. Einen Beweis dafür gibt uns eine Textilmalerei, die sich im Schloß Trakošćan in Hrvatsko Zagorje befindet[24]. Die bemalten Tapeten im zweiten Stock des Schlosses wurden zur Zeit des Grafen Josip Kazimir Drašković (1716–1765) hergestellt. Der Graf hatte sich im preußisch-österreichischen Siebenjährigen Kriege (1756–1763) besondere Kriegsverdienste erworben. Die wichtigsten Kämpfe dieses Krieges, an denen er teilnahm, hat er durch den Pinsel eines guten (anonymen) Malers in seinen Schlössern Brezovica bei Zagreb und Trakošćan festgehalten.

Auf den Tapeten sind in faktographisch realistischer Darstellung die Truppen des Grafen Drašković dargestellt: es fehlt weder das Lazarett noch die Feldküche und auch nicht die Militärkapelle. Diese besteht aus zwei Naturhörnern, zwei Fagotten und vier Oboen. Das kleine Ensemble stellt eine Variante der sogenannten »Harmonie« dar, eines in der österreichischen Armee ursprünglich aus acht Mann bestehenden Musikcorps, in dem vier Hörner, zwei Oboen und zwei Fagotte verwendet wurden, das unter dem Namen »Oboisten« bekannt war[25] *(fig. 12)*.

Wie aus der Geschichte der österreichischen Militärmusik bekannt ist, haben die Fußtruppen im 16. Jahrhundert ein »Spiel« aus Trommel und Querpfeife gehabt. Für das 17. sind auch Schalmeien (»Feldgeschrei«) belegt; diese wurden jedoch gegen Ende des Jahrhunderts durch weniger schrille Oboen ersetzt. Im 18. Jahrhundert kamen Fagotte und Waldhörner dazu; die Oboen blieben jedoch die Hauptinstrumente in diesen Ensembles, weshalb man den Namen »Hautboisten« auf das Gesamtensemble übertrug. Zu Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts waren die Spieler meist noch Privatangestellte des Regimentsinhabers und wurden von ihm unterhalten, mußten aber deshalb auch bei Offiziersveranstaltungen und Gelagen spielen. Solcher Art war offensichtlich das Ensemble des Grafen Drašković, das ein selbständiges Ganzes bildete und ausschließlich aus professionellen, in der Tradition der europäischen Musik geschulten Musikern bestand.

Der Graf besaß also eine den österreichischen Normen entsprechende Militärkapelle, jedoch ohne die charakteristische Schlagzeugverstärkung der sogenannten »Türkischen Musik« oder

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22 Nach Trencks Memoiren: Merkwürdiges Leben und Thaten des Weltberühmten Herrn FRANCISCI Frey-Herrn von der Trenck, Ihro Königl. Majestät in Ungarn und Böhmen ec.ec. würcklicher Cammer-Herr, wie auch Obrister über ein Corpo Banduren und Sclavonischer Husaren, ec. (Frankfurt und Leipzig 1745, ohne Verlagsangabe), S. 69 f.; die italienische Ausgabe unter dem Titel ›Memorie del Barone di Trenck comandante de' Panduri, scritte da lui medesimo‹, wurde 1754 in Amsterdam veröffentlicht; eine der Ausgaben las auch Johann Wolfgang von Goethe in Rom im September 1788, wie er in der ›Italienischen Reise‹ selbst berichtet. – Im anonymen Werk: Merkwürdige historische Nachrichten von denen bey den jetzigen Kriegen, von neuen bekannt gewordenen Völckern [. . .] (Jena 1744, Georg Michael Marggraf), werden die Panduren ausführlich beschrieben; über ihre Musik erfahren wir folgendes (p. 59): »Sie haben türkische Trummeln, oben enge unten etwas weiter, und kleine Schalmeyen, die Trommeln werden auch auf türkische Art geschlagen.«
23 Veröffentlicht in der 2. Ausgabe von Trencks Memoiren (Frankfurt und Leipzig 1747, ohne Verlagsangabe; erste Ausgabe siehe Fußnote 22).
24 Ladislav Šaban, ›Glazba u dvorovima Draškovića u 18. stoljeću‹ [Die Musik an den Höfen der Drašković im 18. Jahrhundert], in: Kaj 5, no. 11 (1972), pp. 32–39.
25 Emil Rameis, Die Österreichische Militärmusik von ihren Anfängen bis 1918 (Tutzing 1976), pp. 18 f.
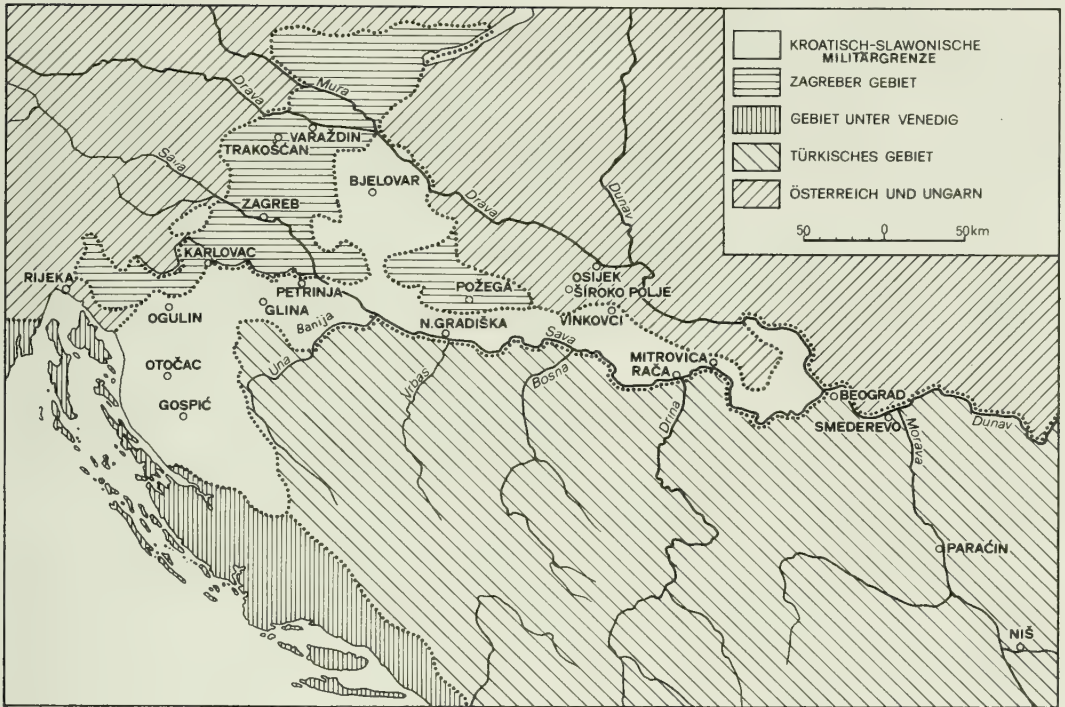
Fig. 13

»Janitscharenmusik«, die sich in der europäischen Militärmusik zunehmender Beliebtheit erfreute [26]. Mehrere Quellen beweisen, daß damals auch andere Adlige in Kroatien ähnliche Musikkapellen unterhielten. Sie waren im allgemeinen aus Musikern zusammengestellt, die zur gräflichen Hausmusik gehörten.

* * *

Fassen wir zusammen: Das balkanische Ensemble Schalmei–Trommel ist eine autochthone und stabile musikalische Formation, die durch bildliche und schriftliche Quellen (einschließlich der Volksliteratur) reichlich belegt ist und in einigen Teilen Jugoslawiens noch heute vorkommt. Durch die Türkenherrschaft wurde sie besonders verbreitet und um neue Schlagzeugklänge bereichert.

Schalmei und Trommel waren im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert auch in Ungarn beliebt und wurden oft von Zigeunermusikern gespielt. Dort wurde aber, wie aus der Benennung der Schalmei als »Türkenpfeife« hervorgeht, das Ensemble als türkisches Fremdgut empfunden. Bezüglich der Trommel und der Rollenverteilung der Spieler schreibt Bálint Sárosi (Zigeunermusik, Budapest 1971, p. 39): »In der Türkei und auf dem Balkan spielt der Trommler – in der rechten Hand einen derben, am Ende umgebogenen Holzschlägel, in der linken eine dünne Rute – nicht nur auf beiden Fellen des Instrumentes, sondern er

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26 Gültekin Oransay verbindet den Einfluß osmanischer Heeresmusik auf die abendländische Militärmusik mit der Belagerung Wiens 1863 und der darauffolgenden Niederlage des türkischen Heeres. Unter der sogenannten Türkenbeute waren auch Musikinstrumente, die den osmanischen Heereskapellen gehört haben. Nach diesem Vorbild stattete man im Westen Kapellen mit türkischen Schlaginstrumenten aus, die sich im Laufe des 18. Jahrhunderts als »Türkische Musik« oder »Janitscharenmusik« großer Beliebtheit erfreuten. Siehe Gültekin Oransay, ›Von den Türken dölpischer Music. Die Musik der türkischen Bauern und die abendländische Kunstmusik‹, in: Die Volkskultur der südeuropäischen Völker. Südosteuropa-Jahrbuch (München 1962), pp. 96–107. Diese unmittelbare Quelle für die Übernahme türkischer Musikinstrumente war aber bestimmt nicht die einzige.

nimmt zugleich am Tanz teil. Von den beiden Musikanten ist nicht der Surnaspieler der wichtigere, sondern der Trommler. Er ist der Leiter des Ensembles.«

Die schalmeienartigen, hölzernen Blasinstrumente konnten die jugoslawischen Bauern selbst bauen, und die Praxis hat sich bis heute erhalten: die Hersteller besitzen dazu eigens gefertigte Bohrer. Metallene Trompeten waren wegen der technisch schwierigen Herstellung und auch aus sozialen Gründen nicht in Gebrauch. Das Spielen verschiedener Doppelrohrblattinstrumente war ein durch viele Generationen gepflegter Kulturbesitz, und es ist daher durchaus natürlich, daß diese Instrumente, die einerseits eine zentrale Funktion in der türkischen Militärmusik hatten, andererseits eine wichtige Rolle bei öffentlichen Festlichkeiten spielten, gerade im Grenzgebiet als Feldmusikinstrumente heimisch wurden. Die Zurna-Trommelmusik war ein wichtiges Element im Alltag der Grenzer, da die Spieler, soweit es sich nicht um Zigeuner, sondern um Slawen handelte, zugleich Soldaten und Bauern waren und zum Volk gehörten. Im Kriegszustand, der in diesen Gegenden durch Jahrhunderte andauerte, gestaltete die Bevölkerung ihren Alltag an der Grenze nach besten Möglichkeiten; ihre Musikanten hatten eine doppelte Aufgabe: sie kamen gleichzeitig dienstlichen Pflichten beim Exerzieren und im Kriege nach und spielten bei allen dörflichen Ereignissen, insbesondere bei Tanzgelegenheiten.

Was sie wohl gespielt haben und wie ihre Musik wohl klang? Nach den Urteilen über den Klang türkischer Musikkapellen, die wir zeitgenössischen Beschreibungen entnehmen, und dem Klange der heute in Jugoslawien noch anzutreffenden Zurna, Sopila und Svirala nach zu schließen, war es eine untemperierte, schrille (weil obertonreiche), laute Musik, die sich in Linien entfaltete und der die Trommel eine erregende, gewaltige Wirkung gab. Für den Einfluß dieser Musik auf westeuropäische Militärkapellen und die Gestaltung von Ensembles, die man nach orientalischem Vorbild malerisch »Janitscharenmusik« zu nennen pflegte, dürften die Musikpraktiken in unserem Grenzgebiet nicht ohne Bedeutung gewesen sein[27].

Selbstverständlich waren für die westliche Militärmusik Schalmeien und Trommeln kein Novum. Neu war aber der Gebrauch von türkischen Schlaginstrumenten. Darum meint seit dem 17. Jahrhundert der Begriff »Türkische« oder »Janitscharenmusik« alle militärischen oder zivilen Ensembles, in denen das Schlagzeug die Bläser dominiert. Man spricht in diesem Zusammenhang wohl am besten von einem exotischen Klangkolorit, denn die Musik blieb in ihrer Substanz westlich.

* * *

Ein kurzes Wort noch zu der weiteren Entwicklung dieser Musikgattung: Bisher haben wir noch nicht genügend Quellen, um Eindeutiges darüber aussagen zu können, wie sich im einzelnen die Umwandlung der volkstümlichen Feldmusik an der Grenze zu einer organisierten Militärmusik westlichen Typs vollzog. Der Prozeß war offensichtlich ein langer, und das Volk hat ihn eher mit Abneigung verfolgt, da sich dadurch die Verbindung zwischen der eigenen zivilen und der militärischen Musik auflöste. Die ersten Musiklehrmeister kamen um 1770 in das Grenzgebiet, und mit der Verdrängung der herkömmlichen einfachen Schalmeien durch die Oboe war der entscheidende Schritt getan. Anders dagegen reagierten die Adligen Kroatiens, die schon in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts »Hautboisten« besaßen, das heißt Harmonie-

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27 Emil Rameis (siehe Fußnote 25, p. 22), der ausgezeichnete Kenner österreichischer Militärmusik formulierte folgendermaßen: »In der Gegend der kroatisch-slawonischen Militärgrenze, die zu dieser Zeit das Reich gegen die Türken abschloß, war der Gebrauch türkischer [!] Schalmeien und die Handhabung von Schlaginstrumenten nach türkischer Manier von jeher bekannt, was gleichfalls auf die Einführung der Janitscharen-Musik nach Europa nicht ohne Einfluß gewesen sein dürfte.« Wir distanzieren uns nur von Rameis' Ansicht, daß die Schalmeien türkisches Lehngut sind.

musiken, die den Normen der österreichischen Armee entsprachen. Ebenso gab es zivile Stadtbanderien – zum Beispiel in Varaždin um die Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts –, die nach dem westlichen Modell zusammengestellt wurden[28].

Am Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts bedeutet in jenem Grenzgebiet »Türkische Musik« nurmehr die damals in der österreichischen Armee übliche, westliche, mit türkischem Schlagzeug verstärkte Kapelle. Man kann den Dokumenten aus jener Zeit im Wiener Kriegsarchiv entnehmen, wie die lokalen Offiziellen sich für diese großen und aufwendigen Ensembles einsetzten, die der Wiener Hofkriegsrat aber aus finanziellen Gründen den Grenzregimentern und der Grenzbevölkerung nicht zugestehen wollte. Doch das ist ein eigenes Kapitel der Geschichte der Musikpflege im kroatischen Grenzland, dem wir uns an anderer Stelle widmen möchten.

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28 Ladislav Šaban, Glazbene mogućnosti Varaždina u 18. i prvoj polovici 19. stoljeća [Die musikalischen Möglichkeiten der Stadt Varaždin im 18. und in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts], in: RAD Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti (RAD der Jugoslawischen Akademie der Wissenschaften und Künste), Buch 377 (Zagreb 1978), pp. 129–194.

Icons of Ethnicity: Pictorial Themes in Commercial Euro-American Music

Mark Slobin*

List of Illustrations

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Europeans who immigrated to the United States in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries have produced a large number of artifacts that contain pictures. These illustrations can serve as a gateway into the internal ethnic world that groups construct as part of their self-conception. Of all these icons, the ones associated with music are particularly powerful in symbolic value, as music (along with food) is one of the chief markers of identity among Euro-American ethnic groups. In recent decades, Old World languages have tended to wane as definers, and religious choice has taken on a somewhat neutral value as the notion of cultural

pluralism has advanced. Instead, a secular ethnicity based on the manipulation of commonly recognized symbols prevails among the groups we are discussing, for whom ethnic identity is largely a voluntary matter. For those marked off by American society due to appearance (Afro-, Asian-, Latin-, and Caribbean-Americans) ethnicity is much more involuntary, and the discussion of iconography takes on a quite different meaning.

I will begin my discussion by citing my first work on ethnic iconography, a study of the cover illustrations of sheet music produced by the Jews for their own consumption during the peak decades of immigration, the 1890s through 1920s[1]. Having established a few basic iconographic themes, I will then turn to a different musical artifact, the record album cover, one of the prime symbolic emblems of ethnic identity in the last three decades as the long-playing record became the dominant form of music packaging. We will look at the Jews again, and then at discs produced by Polish-Americans for comparison. I cannot claim a refined methodology for this approach to iconography, as I developed it intuitively by close observation of a specific body of materials; comparative materials being nonexistent, it is hard to be comfortable with any generalizations. What I proposed for the sheet music material, and am putting forward here regarding record jacket illustrations, is the notion that careful study of this sort of visual imagery can lead one to much larger issues of ethnic improvisation in the realm of expressive culture.

Turning to the sheet music examples, our first illustration (*fig. 1*) is ›The Titanic, or The Watery Grave‹, a 1912 Yiddish-language song from the major publisher of the period, Hebrew Publishing Co. The image of the great ship sinking is taken directly from the standard newspaper drawing of the day, and is not at all ethnic. The very idea of having a Titanic song is hardly Jewish, as nearly 200 songs were written about the disaster, many of them as part of a competition sponsored by a song-publishing company. On the other hand, there is distinctly in-group imagery present: the embracing couple being crowned by the angel. This added visual component directly illustrates the song text, which runs parallel to the images. Similar to Titanic songs in most respects, this Yiddish variant includes the story of Isidor and Ida Straus, the prominent Jewish passengers whom we see on the cover; Straus owned the world's largest department store, Macy's in New York. Ida Straus refused to get into the life boats with the other women and went down with her husband, and the song praises her self-sacrifice as a model of conjugal fidelity. The »Titanic« sheet music cover, then, represents our first pictorial theme: the domestication of mainstream imagery by an ethnic group. For the Jews, this is merely part of a long-term cultural pattern. For example, the classic Yiddish-language ballads of Europe often take a Christian theme or a plot related to the life of the nobility and turn it into suitably Jewish material by situating the narrative in a family context; thus, the wicked Lady So-and-So becomes a mother-in-law[2].

Our second theme also involves the dialectic between ethnic group and mainstream, a basic fact of social life. Recognizing one's ethnicity involves a two-part process: maintaining ethnic boundaries or choosing to tear them down in the face of mainstream pressure. A third process, having the mainstream define an ethnic boundary for you, largely in the form of stereotyping and caricature, lies beyond the scope of my discussion here, though it has its own iconography[3].

1 For a full discussion, see Mark Slobin, Tenement Songs: The Popular Music of the Jewish Immigrants (Urbana/Illinois 1982).
2 For a full discussion, see Eleanor Gordon Mlotek, ›International Motifs in the Yiddish Ballad‹, in: For Max Weinreich on His Seventieth Birthday: Studies in Jewish Languages, Literature and Society (The Hague 1964), pp. 209–228, especially 211–214.
3 This process applies to voluntary and involuntary ethnics alike. For a good discussion of pictures of Afro-American music used by the record industry, see Jeff Todd Titon, Downhome Blues (Urbana/Illinois 1977), especially pp.

Fig. 1

Fig. 2

Sheet music is a good barometer of mainstream pressure, as the whole notion of sheet music, an item to be taken home and reproduced as performance on the parlor piano, comes from the heart of general popular culture and musical consumerism. *Fig. 2* shows a Jewish cover illustration that has been lifted straight from the mainstream popular music industry[4]. If you look closely, you can see a small hat added to the old gentleman, the only bow to ethnicity. Surrounding this purely stylized American image of the good middle-class girl at the piano with satisfied family is a wealth of detail about an ethnic song[5]. This information – publisher, title, composer's name – is visually marginal to the central image, which can be interpreted as calling on the ethnic to remove internal boundaries and join the mainstream. In short, this is an icon of upward musical mobility, our second theme.

Our third theme is the internal self-conception an ethnic group develops in America as revealed through iconography. Through an examination of persistent imagery, contrasted with the depiction of other ethnic groups, one can gain insights into the way the immigrant-era Jews thought about themselves. A good place to start is a sheet music cover produced by Jewish immigrants illustrating Rumanian music. If they wanted to hear the Balkan music they loved they had to publish it themselves, since there was no Rumanian-American sheet music industry. The cover[6] is completely faithful, even ethnographic, in its depiction of Rumanian shepherd music,

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225–269. Even presumably mainstream white Americans can be subjected to the same process if they are rural »backwoods« musicians; see the ongoing feature entitled ›Graphics‹ by Archie Green in: John Edwards Memorial Quarterly, one of the inspirations for my own work on iconography of American popular music.

4 I am grateful to Henry Sapoznik for the identification of this image as a borrowing from mainstream American sheet music.

5 For a thorough discussion of the upward social mobility aspect of the parlor piano and its music in American life, see Arthur Loesser, Men, Women and Pianos (New York 1954).

6 See Slobin (footnote 1), fig. 13.
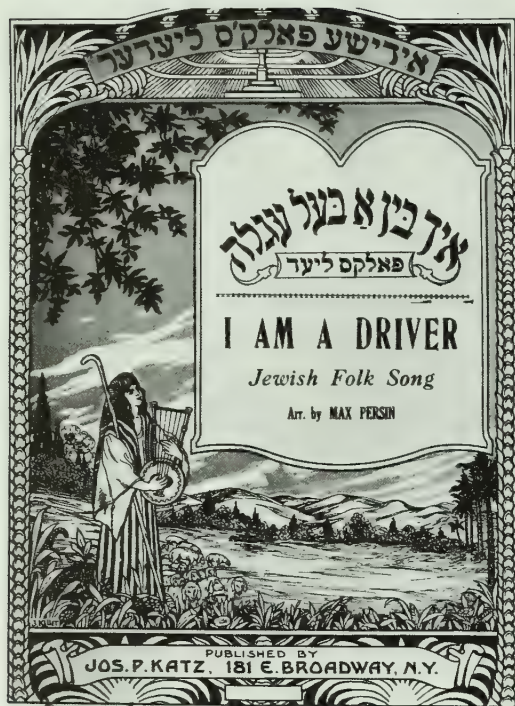
Fig. 3
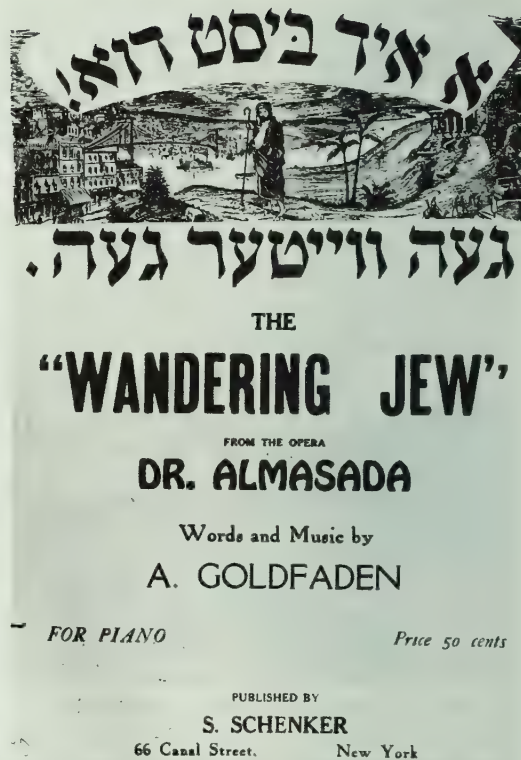
Fig. 4

showing two peasants playing the correct musical instruments. Even the orthography of the title, ›Album Musica Română‹, has the correct diacritical marks. Now, if one were to make a comparable sheet music series of Eastern European Jewish folk music, what should it look like? The answer is a bit surprising. The image of the self (*fig. 3*) turns out to be biblical, not ethnographic. We see the Jewish shepherdess with a lyre and a Star of David on the horizon, all encircled by sheaves of wheat, while a menorah is worked into the upper margin. Now, to be convinced that this is not merely an accidental self-conceptualization and that a consistent imagery exists, one must find the imagery repeated. In fact, both the shepherd and the biblical setting recur in numerous sheet music covers of the period. A fine example of the theme depicts the biblical figure poised between ancient ruins of the Holy Land on the right and New York, with the Brooklyn Bridge, on the left (*fig. 4*)[7]. A river, serving as the Jordan on one side and the East River on the other, meanders across the picture. With the Torah strapped to his back and looking over his shoulder, the figure of the wandering Jew stands between worlds. The self-identity as biblical, rather than Eastern European, is clear, confirming the consistency of this internally generated image.

To round out this initial survey of a few basic themes, we can add a fourth: the emergence of the ethnic star performer as symbol of in-group music-making and self-identification (see *fig. 5*)[8]. Here the expressive image of Jennie Goldstein has pushed the song and publication data to the

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7 ibidem, fig. 10.
8 For further discussion of this issue, see ibidem, pp. 173–175.

Fig. 5

margins of viewer consciousness; she has become the main vehicle both for marketing the songsheet product and for group identity. Increasingly, the star stands for the group in all aspects of American popular culture, ranging from the athlete and the entertainer through the musician. This process begins well back in the nineteenth century with the ascendancy of Irish performers and boxers, continues through white and black minstrel show singers, and seamlessly translates to the newer arrivals such as the Jews in the early twentieth century. The marketing of star imagery naturally intensifies as the hit song becomes the centerpiece of the music industry, transferring from sheet music to record jacket covers as the showcase technology shifts.

With this brief background for further analysis, let us move on to recent times and the record jacket illustrations. In the present short essay, I will try to concentrate on the basic pictorial themes already established, but of course this should not be taken as an attempt to show methodological, not historic continuity, since the audience and marketing of 1970s ethnic records differ markedly from the sheet music situation just described.

We will begin our examination of the Jewish material with a discussion of the emergence of a distinctive musical style and set of musicians who, since 1977, have dominated the secular ethnic music culture. That year saw the appearance of the first record album of what has been labeled klezmer music. Young Jewish musicians who had played professionally a variety of American music, ranging from folk music and bluegrass through jazz and Balkan dance styles, discovered their own ethnic tradition of lively dance tunes, originally played in Europe by wandering minstrels called klezmorim (plural of klezmer, the Yiddish-language term)[9]. They decided to celebrate this tradition, particularly as they rediscovered it on the American commercial recordings of the period between the two world wars. The pioneering band, from Berkeley, California, appropriately called itself the Klezmorim. *Fig. 6* shows their first record album cover[10]. It features a drawing of anonymous European-looking musicians, perhaps representing a collective, mythic past. The album is titled ›East Side Wedding‹, referring to the Lower East Side, the early Jewish immigrant neighborhood of New York City. Thus, in this very first iconographic example for the klezmer movement, both Europe and America are acknowledged as sponsors of the emerging style.

The record notes on the back quite specifically date the ideal time to which the band harks back: »Neglected manuscripts and forgotten 78 rpm recordings are your ticket to the union halls, cabarets and proletarian weddings of 1927«, a year which was indeed the high point of the commercial recording of the genre. The band speaks to the tradition on a »disc-to-disc« basis but likes to think of itself as belonging personally to the tradition, as does the romanticizing cover illustration creating an artificial genealogy which is typical of the reinterpretation of American ethnic music:

> Our own checkered musical backgrounds have to some extent paralleled those of the original klezmorim. Like them, we learned our craft playing with small bands in bars and cafes, at dance parties, and on the streets.

On their second album, the Klezmorim made their self-conception more explicit[11]. The disc is titled ›Streets of Gold‹, clearly referring to the usual immigrant myth of America as the land where the streets were paved with gold. The cover features a drawing commissioned from the

9 For fuller discussion of the klezmer movement, see Mark Slobin, ›»Klezmer« Music: An American Ethnic Genre‹, in: Yearbook for Traditional Music (1984), pp. 34–41.
10 The Klezmorim, ›East Side Wedding‹ (Arhoolie 3006, 1976). The two quotations below are from the anonymous liner notes on the back of the album.
11 The Klezmorim, ›Streets of Gold‹ (Arhoolie 3011, 1978).

Fig. 6

Fig. 7

Fig. 8

Fig. 9

very popular California anti-establishment cartoonist R. Crumb, whose work for rock musicians and youth magazines was famous at the time (*fig. 7*). We see the band caricatured as immigrants arriving in New York, creating a sense of irony through the contrast of the reality of their hip California counter-culture identity with a self-conception of themselves as latter-day musical immigrants. On the back of the album there is a photograph of the band members in their everyday Berkeley backyard surroundings. The depiction of musicians on the same artifact in a self-created, professional persona and as everyday citizens is an old American tradition; there is a well-known 1850s image of the Virginia Minstrels which depicts the entertainers in their blackface stage appearance above and as respectable white citizens below[11a].

11a See e.g. Edw. LeRoy Rice, Monarchs of Minstrelsy from »Daddy« Rice to Date (New York: Kenny, 1911), p. 21: »The Virginia Serenaders 1843«.

The next two albums of the Klezmorim extended their identity as the band changed its self-definition. Following their success in establishing a market for national tours and the emergence of competing bands in the klezmer style, the group began to reach out for new markets and to broaden their iconographic base. The ›Metropolis‹[12] album cover of 1981 (*fig. 8*) shows the band's instruments as New York skyscrapers in a 1930s milieu, an environment confirmed by a change of clothing in the photograph on the back of the album, where the musicians appear in gangster clothes. The thirties are about the time when the Klezmorim redefined klezmer music as »Jewish jazz« in their advertisements and concert programs, in order to appeal to a wider audience. According to the liner notes:

> on the streetcorners of the metropolis, in mighty theatre orchestras, and finally in the studios of the fledgling recording industry, klezmorim blended their age-old instrumental tradition with the innovations of the Jazz Age to create a sound unrivaled in its rowdiness, passion, and tenderness.

Both ›East Side Wedding‹ and ›Metropolis‹ present New York City as the homeland of klezmer music, but we are dealing with two New Yorks. The former is an echo of the Old World, with its lively European-clad musicians and weddings, while the latter is the ethnically nonspecific »metropolis« melting-pot, to which the Jews add their distinctive voice, but into which they dissolve. Imagery and liner notes concur in presenting this impression of a conceptual shift – yet we are dealing with records produced only a few years apart by a single band.

Finally, with the ›Notes from Underground‹ album[13], the Klezmorim pursued the pop image even further (*fig. 9*). Here they look rather like a New Wave rock group, pushing into new pictorial territory. The visual pun on »underground« as meaning the New York subway complements a shift toward self-conception as »art« band rather than mainstream band and as present-day stars rather than figures representing a past tradition. There is virtually no back-cover commentary for this album, which includes »exotic« jazz items (»Egyptian Ella«; »The Mooche«) as well as Americanized klezmer tunes (»Yiddisher Charleston«). Interestingly, this album has been reissued in France, where the cover has been changed to show the musicians in cartoon style with their instruments growing from their heads, a more generic idea perhaps derived from the spirit of the ›Metropolis‹ cover and more in keeping with the band's outsider status in Europe.

Summarizing the developement of the Klezmorim, we see the first theme discussed earlier for the sheet music material, domestication of mainstream imagery, in the R. Crumb and the rock band imagery. The latter also illustrates an attempt at theme two, upward musical mobility. Our third theme, the notion of a stable in-group set of iconographic assumptions, is somewhat lacking here, which is entirely suitable for a very new, improvisatory ethnic musical style searching for its niche in both the in-group and mainstream musical landscape. The fourth theme proposed earlier, star billing, is suggested by the ›Underground‹ album cover.

Meanwhile, other bands working in the same genre both confirmed these trends and expanded the pictorial vocabulary to reflect their own ideology of ethnic music-making. The New York group Kapelye made its self-conception very clear with its first album cover in 1981 (*fig. 10*)[14], which unmistakably shows the band as a link between past and future, through a rainbow bridge (a rather unsuitable and unintended Wagnerian reference) which links Eastern Europe to America. The Old World, on the right, is under the word »past« and America, on the left, below the word »future« in the album title ›Future & Past‹. On the back, the band's name is given in its

12 The Klezmorim, ›Metropolis‹ (Flying Fish Records FF 258, 1981).
13 The Klezmorim, ›Notes from Underground‹ (Flying Fish Records FF 322, 1984).
14 Kapelye, ›Future & Past‹ (Flying Fish Records FF 249, 1981).

Fig. 10

Fig. 11

Hebrew-character version on the right and roman on the left, continuing the imagery; that the band appears with the same photograph on front and back indicates a strong unity of purpose. Over the back photograph is this message: »this album is dedicated to our families who have taught us that our future is our Jewish past«, cementing the implication of the imagery that this band is particularly concerned with its self-identity and sense of lineage.

The cover of ›Future & Past‹ pairs very nicely with a sheet music cover cited above (*fig. 4*), which portrays the Old World as biblical landscape on the right and New York on the left, showing unconscious continuity in iconography. However, the fact that here the Old World is drawn ethnographically, as Eastern Europe, rather than mythically, as ancient times, shows a distinct shift in group consciousness. Once again, iconography provides a clue to self-conceptualization. In the case of Kapelye, we can be sure that the cover reflects the group's feelings, since the group leader's brother was enlisted to provide the illustration. In other cases, the jacket illustration is forced on the group by the record company[15].

Kapelye's second album shows a strong move toward a purely American identification. The album, ›Levine and His Flying Machine‹[16], is named for a 1927 Jewish-American popular song about Charles A. Levine, who followed Charles A. Lindbergh in a trans-Atlantic flight. Levine's flight to Berlin, outdoing Lindbergh's Paris destination, was comic – he and his pilot lost their way and ran out of fuel before they reached their goal – and this way of viewing the past is stressed in the cover, which shows the band in front of an old »flying machine« manned by two aviators. This illustration is an ironic tribute to the group's grandfathers and their sometimes stumbling attempts at successful Americanization. Suitably, there are commentaries on the past in the songs on the record as well. In one case the group's founder, Henry Sapoznik, has added a new verse to a 1923 Yiddish song to update it. The old song is a hymn of praise to the Russian Revolution, seen then as a move toward liberation from the czarist yoke. Sapoznik's new stanza, in Yiddish, urges the superpowers to put an end to nuclear weapons. Here are the refrain of the old song and the beginning of the newly composed verse in English translation:

15 This tension between group and producer over graphics typifies mainstream popular music as well as ethnic productions. Research in this area would provide valuable insights into the role that visualization plays in the shaping of performers' self-image, one of the many branches of the iconography of popular music that remain undeveloped.
16 Kapelye, ›Levine and His Flying Machine‹ (Shanachie 21006, 1985).

Russia, you are a Bolshevik.
How did this come to be?
No matter where you go, all you hear is:
Russia, you are a Bolshevik!

Now look what's happening in West and East
Between Russia and America
They are preparing militarily with nuclear weapons
To fight a war no one can win.

This displacement of past interests into present concerns is typical of the reinterpretation that ethnic groups apply to their history; the irony shown by the new text complements the comedy of the cover illustration. The interplay of the iconography and the musical content of the ethnic package is always worth investigating.

Only one branch of the klezmer movement has ever considered using a photograph of actual klezmorim from Europe: the scholarly wing. Henry Sapoznik, just cited for his reinterpretative side, has also been an important researcher of the discography of klezmer music, and has edited an album of reissues of old recordings[17]. For that cover, he uses a photograph of an early klezmer band from the archives of the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, the organization that sponsored the disc. Following YIVO's ideology, all jacket cover information is presented in both Yiddish and English; a gray backdrop belies the romanticism that has infused much of the klezmer movement with its vitality. Sapoznik extends his scholarship to Kapelye's records; they are the only discs cited here to contain pull-out sheets with historical notes and song texts, and on the ›Levine‹ album, he identifies himself as »musician/ethnomusicologist Henry Sapoznik«. Thorough study of the disc as ethnic artifact, of course, must look to all parts of the packaging.

To round out our klezmer survey, we can register the presence of our theme of upward musical mobility, apparent in some recent illustrations. Two bands, the Klezmer Conservatory Band and the Andy Statman Orchestra, find themselves depicted in formal dress against the glitter of the New York skyline[18]. Unlike the early Klezmorim album covers, photographs of current bands appear on the front rather than the back of the album, underlining the fact that these are current, well-known entities, a stance that veers toward the star theme. In the case of the Statman band, the 1984 upward mobility photograph is particularly notable, since their album of the previous year showed them clowning before a homey Jewish delicatessen. Titles changed too: the earlier disc was simply ›Klezmer Music‹, while the later is called ›Klezmer Suite‹.

It should be noted that bands do not always consciously choose these depictions of self. In the case of the Klezmer Conservatory Band, the group was unhappy with the fashionable look, but preferred it to the record company's only other choice: a Chagall painting, which was altogether too stereotyped for the band, as I was told by Hankus Netzky, its founder and leader. While it is helpful to know the background to such illustrations, the fact that the band does not necessarily determine its image is not an essential component for either the consumer or the analyst, both of whom take the commercial music product literally at face value. For example, we have the case of a San Diego band which appears photographed ankle-deep in the waters of the Pacific. Whether or not the band originated this image, it suggests to the observer the »end of the world« placement of San Diego in the geography of klezmer music and Jewish-American life. This album is also one of the first to feature a newly composed tune in the klezmer style, thus paralleling the

17 ›Klezmer Music: 1910–1942‹ (Folkways FFS 34021, 1981).
18 The Andy Statman Klezmer Orchestra, ›Klezmer Suite‹ (Shanachie 21005, 1984), and The Klezmer Conservatory Band, ›A Touch of Klez‹ (Vanguard VSD 79455, 1985).

frontier spirit of the cover. The liner notes once again make the ideology explicit, explaining the album title:

›Cholent with Huckleberry‹, as the title suggests, mixes the traditional with the non-traditional. The old familiar melodies of our zade's and bobbe's (grandfathers and grandmothers) sprinkled with some provocative klezmer sounds of the 1980s[19].

The band is also only half-Jewish in personnel. One band member, with an ethnically ambiguous name, appears with a Yiddish-English dictionary on his lap for easy identification.

The antithesis of the Americanization just discussed is the album issued by pioneer klezmorim Zev Feldman and Andy Statman[20]. Both have done research on the roots of klezmer music, studying with the oldest of the surviving musicians who recorded in the 78 rpm era, Dave Tarras; Statman made a point of using Tarras's own clarinet for concerts and recordings, while Feldman is a scholar of Turkic linguistics and culture. Their album is unique in using only modest Old World instruments, the clarinet, the tsimbl (cimbalom), and the string bass without the added brass back-up instruments of the Klezmorim, or American additions such as Sapoznik's banjo. Their liner notes take pains to point out musicological details and their own long period of study with not only the surviving klezmer musicians but with »a number of fine exponents of the related Moldavian, Greek, and Armenian traditions«, pointing up their impressive scholarly credentials. Perhaps it is this careful eclecticism which led to the note to listeners added by the record company producer, Daniel Michael Collins, who tells his audience (largely used to Irish records only, at that point) how he came to appreciate klezmer music: »I realized it contained all the elements to make it a must for anyone interested in traditional folk music.« To illustrate this disc, then, one would expect Feldman and Statman to have conjured up a very Old World image. In fact, they found an extremely European-looking synagogue in a remote corner of Brooklyn and placed themselves in a tightly framed shot of the facade (*fig. 11*). Also appropriately, they positioned the non-Jewish member of the ensemble, a Greek-American bass player, on the back cover[21].

To conclude our survey of Jewish-American music, we will step away from the secular klezmer tradition and take a look at products of the religious music revival of recent years. There has been a great upsurge of right-wing Judaism that has found its voice in an explosion of songs that express the values of old-time religion, often using up-to-date musical styles. Whether coming from the Orthodox, Conservative, or Reform branches of American Judaism, these new religious commercial artifacts also have their iconographic consistency. Moving from right-wing to left-wing American Judaism, we will start with Hasidic records. The Hasidim, whose striking style of East-European dress and speech dramatically mark them off from other American Jews, have captured the musical imagination of a broad cross-section of today's listeners. Their record jacket illustrations show a strong interest in Old World roots. Depictions of the traditional Hasidic world usually rely on drawing, the standard iconographic choice for archetypal imagery. This type of depiction is common on albums of old Hasidic tunes. A disc of new Hasidic favorites[22] self-consciously takes off from this established style, showing the line-drawn Hasidim at the heart of a record, an appropriately reflexive gesture for a new product based on old values (*fig. 12*). Meanwhile, in the mainstream, non-Hasidic orthodox world, we have the phenomenon of fundamentalist youth groups doing American show business-derived music, partly in English

19 Zmiros, ›Cholent with Huckleberry‹ (Goggle-Moggle Productions, 1983).
20 (Shanachie 21002, 1979).
21 Zev Feldman and Andy Statman, ›Jewish Klezmer Music‹ (Shanachie 21002, 1979).
22 (Rone Records RRS 1442).

Fig. 12   Fig. 13

and partly in Hebrew, the sacred tongue. It is not surprising to find a very forthright graphic representation of this music, showing, for example, the Miami boys' choir in three vignette photographs, all showing off their glittering Broadway outfits, striped jackets and canes and chorus-line format[23]. On the one hand, this would seem to illustrate our theme of domestication: show business is our business now. On the other hand, it also appears to tend toward upward musical mobility, with the Great White Way, presented here in costume version, as model.

Another group, Kol Simcha, is even more daring in its depiction of modern religiosity. Their 1979 album of newly composed religious songs[24] shows an old-time Jew chiseling the song titles into the most sacred spot in Judaism, the Western Wall in Jerusalem. Taken literally, it would indicate a self-conceptualization of considerable hubris, an almost sacrilegious appropriation of traditional imagery in the service of self-promotion. This chutzpah is continued in the picture; to the old workman's side lies a copy of the Jerusalem Post with the headline »Messiah Has Come!« while the record label is Messianic Records. The fact that the record was available as a fifty-cent remainder perhaps indicates the failure of this stance[25].

Finally, moving to the centrist and left-wing Conservative and Reform movements, we find a strong interest in arresting imagery as well. Sol Zim uses the theme of the ethnic star in every facet of his work, carving out a specialized slot through a long series of recordings and crowded concerts, including places like Las Vegas. In *fig. 13*[26] we see the maximal use of celebrity centrality in one of his holiday theme records, each one of which boldly places the Zim family in front of the consumer as model of Jewish observance. Similarly, in the music closer to the Reform wing of American Judaism, an album by Debbie Friedman places her in heaven, emerging from clouds to announce the title: »and the youth« (presumably including herself as prophetess) »shall see visions«, stressing her own roots in a religious youth movement and affirming her star status[27].

23 ›Miami Live!‹ (Kee-Tov Records KT 5600, 1980).
24 Kol Simcha, ›Messianic‹ (KSA-2001, 1979).
25 The world of Jewish religious pop music has grown so large and complex that it deserves a separate study; it has become dominant on Jewish ethnic radio programing and in record/cassette sales within the last decade.
26 Sol Zim, ›The Joy of Chanukah‹ (Zimray 109, 1979).
27 Debbie Friedman, ›And The Youth Shall See Visions‹ (Sing Unto God 978, 1979).

Let us turn to another ethnic group for comparison to see how widespread our proposed pictorial themes might be. If the themes prove resilient enough to apply to a situation removed both in time and ethnicity, my sense that the kernel of a methodology might be available will be strengthened. The Polish-Americans are ideal for comparison, as their musical activity is particularly band-centered and competitive. The commercial polka band, both live and recorded, goes back to the 1920s, and is an important component of a number of American ethnic groups[28]. The album is a common unit of currency both for the bands, who hope it will help them gain audience recognition, and for audiences who invest in ethnic consciousness through acquisition of artifacts. Selected album covers of Eddie Blazonczyk's band can serve as a model for analysis. Blazonczyk, the son of immigrants, moved from rock to polka in 1962 and »owns his own record label distributorship and studio. Besides making frequent hometown appearances, he spends ten months a year touring throughout the Polka Belt and beyond, from Hawaii to Poland«[29]. This probably means that Blazonczyk's chosen imagery is what we see on his records, not some outside producer's whims.

Domestication of mainstream motifs is quite common in this repertoire *(fig. 14)*[30] places the band squarely in the mainstream of everyday tourist imagery of the vacation paradise, Hawaii. There is, of course, absolutely nothing Polish in the image being presented; it is simply an appropriation of Hawaii as model of »the good life«. There may, however, be other implicit messages as well about the success of the band, or of polka bands in general, which might touch on the upward mobility theme; the picture certainly advertises Blazonczyk's success as a touring artist. Any visual symbol, of course, is open to multiple interpretations by either consumer or analyst, just as any one-to-one correspondence between an image and its »meaning« is probably a simplification.

Blazonczyk's imagery plays on a number of stereotyped American images, at times very loosely. One record, ›Roaring Polkas‹[31], seems to refer to the stock notion of the »Roaring Twenties« in American popular culture. Yet the reference is simply a visual tie-in to the mainstream and is not reflected in the music. The sloppiness of the pictorial idea underlines this casual approach: the raccoon coat stereotype of the twenties is flanked by the standard mustache-and-sleeves-with-garters imagery of the 1890s, or »Gay Nineties«, another ready-made decade icon. It is America in general which is being domesticated, a process which need not require precision in details. When the »old country« is depicted, it appears, appropriately, in generalized drawing fashion, as we saw for the Jewish-Americans. A documentary approach such as using a photograph of Poland is bypassed in favor of the more mythic quality of a crude sketch of happy peasant dancers[32]. The title of the album, ›Old Country Style‹, is rendered in Polish in parentheses (›Po Staro Krajsku‹), which marginalizes the Old World language while appealing to it. Similarly, while the European dancers are drawn, Blazonczyk and Kowalowski, the vocalists, are shown in photographic form: realism versus memory.

28 For a survey of the Polish-American polka band, see Janice Kleeman, The Origins and Stylistic Development of Polish-American Polka Music (Ph. D. dissertation, University of California at Berkeley 1982). Charles Keil, whose book on the subject is forthcoming, sees the Polish polka band as one example of a cross-ethnic, nationwide »blue collar« music tradition which is distinctively American and which is class-related. See his ›In Pursuit of Polka Happiness‹ (= Cultural Correspondence no. 5 [1977]) and ›Class and Ethnicity in Polish-America‹, in: Journal of Ethnic Studies 2, (1974) pp. 37–45.

29 Larry Birnbaum, ›The Polka Continues to Thrive Across America‹, in: New York Times (25 January 1987), H21.

30 Eddie Blazonczyk's Versatones, ›Hawaiian Polka Tour‹ (Bel-Aire LP 3032).

31 Eddie Blazonczyk's Versatones, ›Roaring Polkas‹ (Bel-Aire 3029).

32 Polish Mountaineer All-Star Orchestra with Eddie Blazonczyk and Chet Kowalowski, ›Old Country Style‹ (›Po Staro Krajsku‹) (Bel-Aire 3067).

Notions of domestication and a play of stereotyped imagery reach their high point in Blazonczyk's illustrations in *fig. 15*[33]. Here the band leader places himself in the pantheon of American heroes carved at Mt. Rushmore, while the title emphatically underscores the message: ›Polka Music is Here to Stay!‹[34] The irony evident in some klezmer albums is paralleled and surpassed here. One is obviously not to take seriously the megalomania the image implies but to laugh at the incongruity. This acknowledgment of the marginality of the group is resonant of the deeply felt sentiments of a minority group and again indicates that record jackets can be a locus for rather serious commentary, even if it is disguised as humor[35]. While the Mt. Rushmore cover hints at upward mobility, other polka band covers make the theme much more explicit. An illustration for a Ray Henry album (*fig. 16*)[36] makes this obvious by placing the homespun polka in the context of the Great White Way, complete with the title ›Broadway Polka‹. This is a direct counterpart to the glamorization of the klezmer band and just as irrelevant to the music. Another in the same band's series is titled ›Ballroom Polkas‹ and shows a photographed, formally clad, ecstatically swooping couple.

To complete this Polish polka excursion, we can note two additional trends which indicate the possibilities of future analysis. One is depiction of ethnic geography, as in *fig. 17*[37]. Each Euro-American group has its own map of America, centering on those cities that have the largest populations of their fellow ethnics. Here, Buffalo is highlighted, the graphics making it clear that it is a major »polka town« while the background map points out other major centers of Polish population and polka band business. It is perhaps significant that Buffalo is marked with a star, the standard American mapmaker's notation for a capital city: this truly makes the Polish map a self-conscious substitution for normal American reality, Buffalo not being the capital of the state of New York. A visual pun on »star« performer, another of our themes, is certainly also a possible reading. Finally, yet another theme can be found on polka jacket covers: ethnic entertainment's featuring of itself, a reflexive tendency common to all popular culture, from film and television through the record industry. One jacket cover has the artist legitimizing himself through the simple depiction of his Polka Hall of Fame plaque, using the industry award to bolster both his own credentials and those of the polka band establishment[38].

Thus, even a brief excursion into the Polish-American world turns up themes that parallel those of the Jews, confirming our iconographic notion that there may be a basic relationship between picture and group identity. At the same time, each set of record jacket illustrations suggests additional iconographic themes for future research.

The present short introduction to the world of ethnic musical icons and to one method of interpretation – identification of pictorial themes as clues to ethnic identity and ethnic-mainstream dialectic – is meant only as an invitation to a wide range of possible approaches to a rich area of study. I hope that in this brief presentation I have demonstrated the interpretive power of popular culture imagery and the important role of pictures and of possible iconographic systems in the continual process of self-definition faced by American ethnic groups in a complex and heterogeneous society. That this is equally true of other regions in a world increasingly dominated by the images of popular culture only means that many more music cultures and subcultures could be studied in a similar fashion.

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33 Eddie Blazonczyk's Versatones, ›Polka Music is Here to Stay!‹ (Bel-Aire 3034).
34 Eddie Blazonczyk's Versatones, ›Polka Music is Here to Stay!‹ (Bel-Aire 3026).
35 Parallel analysis of polka song texts also reveals often explicit statements about ethnic life.
36 Ray Henry and His Orchestra, ›Broadway Polka‹ (Dana DLP 1248).
37 The Dynatones, ›Buffalo is a Polka Town‹ (WAM LP 4027).
38 Dick Pillar and His Orchestra, ›Polka Star Series‹ (Stelto 724).

Fig. 14

Fig. 15

Fig. 16

Fig. 17

On the Ergology and Symbolism of a Shaman Drum of the Khakass

Ernst Emsheimer*

List of Illustrations

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Preliminary remarks

Khakass is the name today used by themselves, of a number of Turkish-speaking peoples who live in the valley of the Abakan, a west-side tributary of the Upper Yenisej and on the adjacent steppes in southwestern Siberia. They were earlier combined under the collective names of Minusinski, Yenisej, or Abakan Tatars. They are divided into smaller ethnic groups or tribes: the Kachin, the Koybal, the Kyzyl, the Sagaj, and the Beltir. Their ethnogenesis is extremely complicated. Some of them are remnants of pre-Turkish peoples from southwestern Siberia who have been Turkicized. Although they officially adopted the Orthodox faith in the eighteenth century, their profession of Christianity was merely a formal act. Despite decades of intensive missionary work they clung tenaciously to their ancient animistic beliefs, to shamanism, until recent times.

In the literature of religious ethnology shamanism denotes a highly structured and wide-ranging complex of magical-religious beliefs and ritualistic acts whose central figure is the

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* Translated by Robert Caroll.

shaman. Almost always against his will and after a traumatic and horrifying experience of death and rebirth, the shaman is forced by the spirits of his shaman ancestors, or by the »masters« of the holy mountains of the clan, to take up his vocation. As a religious genius, as an authority on and a guardian of the cosmological and mythological traditions of his clan or tribe, his social function was, with the aid of zoomorphic helping spirits, to act as a mediator between this world and the beyond, between his social group and the supernatural powers. In particular, he was relied upon when it was necessary to go beyond the bounds of concrete reality, especially in those cases in which someone was needed to track down and catch the abducted soul of a sick person who had fallen into the power of a demonic being, and to conduct it back into him so that he would be restored to health. The shaman made contact with the supernatural world by means of ritualized ecstasy. At the height of a violent motor agitation he is put, by means of this, into a trance-like state. In this state his soul detaches itself from his body and undertakes an extremely dangerous imaginary journey to the beyond, which brings him into remote regions of the spirit world. The special technique for attaining this state consists particularly in at first fairly monotonous, then ever more vehement rhythmic beats on his drum. The drum is his most important attribute and the outwardly visible symbol of his capacity as shaman. With it he drums up his helping spirits, and with it he or his soul go on journeys in the upper world or underworld. Without his drum he is not the person that he is.

During the years 1891/92 the Swedish art historian and collector Fredrik Robert Martin undertook an extended journey through Siberia. In Minusinsk he was able to acquire, with the help of the Russian archaeologist and ethnographer D. A. Klements, two shaman drums, which today are in the possession of the Ethnographic Museum in Stockholm (inv. nos. 1892.3.293 and 354). Klements states that the two drums were given to his museum by Father Pavel, a priest who was active as a missionary in the middle Abakan valley[1]. He informs us further that one of the drums was from a place called Askys and that the other was found in damaged condition near Askys, not far from the grave of a shaman, hanging in a tree in the woods[2]. Judging from the locality, Klements thinks they can be assigned to the Sagaj or the Beltir[3]. As one of the two drums is defective, we will be interested here solely in the one that has remained intact (inv. no. 1892.3.354a).

It should be mentioned here that among the Khakass, just as among many other peoples of Siberia, the shaman himself does not make his drum. Rather, the shaman receives precise instructions from the masters of the holy mountain of the clan which he imparts to the members of his social group, who then – with or without him – go into the woods to the tree he has picked out and remove from it the wood to be used for the frame of the drum. And so it is with the

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1 D. A. Klements, ›Neskol'ko obrazcov bubnov Minusinskikh inorodcev‹, in: Zapiski vostochno-sibirskogo otdėla Imperatorskogo Russkogo geograficheskogo obshchestva po ėtnografii (Irkutsk 1890), vol. II: 2, p. 26.

2 Klements (footnote 1), p. 33. Regarding this, see N. F. Katanov, ›Über die Bestattungsbräuche bei den Türkstämmen Central- und Ostasiens‹, in: Keleti szemle I (Budapest 1900), p. 111; idem, Obrazcy narodnoj literatury tjurskikh plemen IX, ed. by V. Radlov (St. Petersburg 1907), pp. 553 and 560. He reports that the drum, together with drumstick, of a Khakass shaman who died was hung on a birch tree at some distance from his grave. The metal parts that had been fastened onto the inside of the drum were removed beforehand, to be reserved for the drum of the future shaman. The skin of the drum, however, was slashed. Cases similar to this have occured among other Siberian peoples as well.

3 Fredrik Robert Martin's information in his publication Sibirica. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Vorgeschichte und Kultur sibirischer Völker (Stockholm 1897), pl. 35: »Black Tatars in the Altai Mountains« is incorrect and contradicts that of Klements (footnote 1), p. 34, who has depicted and briefly described the two drums, as well as six others. Martin's information about their ethnic provenience is extremely dubious also from a typological viewpoint (the form of the hand grip). According to E. D. Prokof'eva, ›Shamanskij buben‹, in: Istoriko-ėtnograficheskij atlas Sibiri (Moskva-Leningrad 1961), p. 443, the same typological criterion would seem to indicate that the damaged drum was once in the possession of a shaman of the Kachin.

Fig. 1

subsequent work process. The shaman simply supervises it; i.e., he informs others of the necessary details: from which tree the wood for the hand grip should be taken, how many and which pendants are to be fastened to the drum, which figures are to be represented on its skin, etc. He also gives the instructions for the killing of the animal, having certain characteristics, whose skin is to be drawn over the drum.

Concerning the activities and ritual ceremonies performed in connection with the making of the drum, we are quite well informed when it comes to other ethnic groups of northern Asia. But as for the Khakass, the older literature leaves us entirely in the lurch. We learn only that it is not the shaman himself who fashions the drum[4], and that the wood for the frame should be taken from a crimson willow[5]. Nor do we learn anything about the long initiation ceremony of the drum, which has the aim of waking it to life. It is considered the alter ego of the shaman, his drum animal, and a being vested with supernatural powers.

It may be considered a stroke of luck that L. P. Potapov succeeded, as late as in the 1940s, in obtaining information about the making of the drum and the ceremonial for arousing it to life. He heard this from a former shaman of the Kachin and other informants[6]. Some ten years later similar information was given to Vilmos Diószegi by a one-time shaman among the Sagaj[7]. Above all, the ceremonial for the arousal to life of the drum merits special consideration. It is connected with various ritual and magical acts, with bans and customs which correspond to the shamanistic cult. Although Potapov's information is far richer in details, we will content ourselves here in sketching an outline of that of Diószegi (*fig. 1*).

After the drum is made ready, though not yet furnished with the magical accessories and the drawings on its skin, and before its arousal to life, a child has to beat it on three days before going to sleep at night. Diószegi reports that this is done in order to make the drum lighter[8]. After the drawings are applied to the skin, the next step is to track down the soul of the animal whose skin was stretched over the drum. The shaman has to find out where it used to roam, where it grazed, and where it was born. That is where the soul of the animal could be captured. After that a white lamb is slaughtered, a banquet is prepared, and drinks are made up. A birch tree, with roots and all, is fetched from the woods, erected on the festival ground, and decorated with rings and bands. Hereupon the shaman examines carefully all the details of the drum in order to determine whether or not his instructions were carried out correctly. The shaman, or rather his soul, then goes off to the master of the holy mountain of his clan, greets him and shows him the drum. The master inspects it, checks its measurements, and counts the pendants fastened to it, to make sure that all of his directions have been followed exactly. If he finds that something does not comply with his directions he becomes angry. He is also angered if the drum was not handed over to a child to be played upon for the prescribed time. After examining the drum he assigns to the shaman his helping spirits, who now act as his helpers and advisers. They are in continual contact with him and are under his control. Here the master of the holy mountain of his clan also tells him how many drums he is allowed to have in his life, i. e., how long he can practice his shamanism. After that he must die.

4 Katanov, Obrazcy narodnoj literatury (footnote 2), p. 550.
5 N. F. Katanov, ›Shamanskij buben i ego znachenie‹, in: Enisejskie Eparkhial'nye Vedomosti 6 (Irkutsk 1889), p. 237; ›Pisma N. F. Katanova iz Sibiri i Vostochnogo Turkestana‹, in: Zapis Imp. Akademii nauk 73 (St. Petersburg 1894), p. 27.
6 L. P. Potapov, ›Shamanskij buben Kachincev kak unikal'nyj predmet ètnograficheskich kollekcij‹, in: Sbornik muzeja antropologii i ètnografii 37 (Moskva-Leningrad 1981), p. 124.
7 Vilmos Diószegi, ›How to become a shaman among the Sagais‹, in: Acta Orientalia 15 (Budapest 1962), p. 84; idem, Tracing Shamans in Siberia. The Story of an Ethnographical Research Expedition (Oosterhout 1968), p. 74.
8 Diószegi, ›How to become a shaman‹ (footnote 7), p. 95.

Let us now turn, however, to a brief description of the construction of our shaman drum.

Ergology

The drum (*fig. 2*) is approximately circular; influences of the weather have changed its shape somewhat (outer diameter 76–77 cm). Like the drums of the Altai-Sayan region, this one is remarkable for its large size. Its weight is considerable (6.7 kg). It must have required some exertion on the part of the shaman to hold it during conjurations that lasted several hours. The frame of the drum is formed by a shaving of crimson willow (width 11–12.9 cm, thickness 1.2 cm)[9]. It is curved together in such a way that its ends, grazed at a slant, fit by overlapping. They are held together at both sides of the hand grip by two strong leather straps that cross each other at right angles. The upper edges of the frame are slightly rounded off at the top, probably to counteract damage to the skin at those places that are the most exposed to wear and tear. In addition, to ensure the stability of the frame, two slender switches of wood have been stretched around it concentrically and fastened onto it with short leather straps.

On the inside of the drum the hand grip, made of a solid piece of birch, forms the vertical axis and is set securely in the frame on the top and the bottom by means of rectangular bungs. It makes up one of two basic forms of shaman drums of the Khakass. E. D. Prokof'eva calls this a »Shor-variant« of the southern Siberian type, and she maintains that it is to be found not only among the Khakass and the Shor, but also among the Turkish-speaking Teleut and Kumandin in the Altai region as well[10]. It has an elaborate symmetrical composition. Its bottom side, i. e., the side facing the skin, is cut smoothly, probably so that it would not knock against the skin and thereby hinder it from vibrating freely. The middle part of the hand grip, the part by which the shaman once gripped the drum with his left hand, is in cylindrical form (length 8.6 cm, diameter 3.8 cm). In both directions this turns into pyramidal stumps oppositely situated (length 15.9–16.7 cm). Between lines running across they are ornamented by a simple geometrical groove decoration in the form of five oblique lines that meet at an angle. Connecting the pyramidal stumps on both sides at top and bottom are flat plates of wood (length 15.5–16.5 cm, thickness 1 cm). In the center of these are ridges in an upward direction with oblique notches on their upper ends (height 4.6 cm, thickness 8–1.3 cm). They divide the plates of wood into two equal parts. In the wood, on both sides of the ridges, three figures in hourglass form are cut out. The plates of wood run up to the bungs by means of which the hand grip is fitted, at the top and bottom, into the frame[11].

9 Microscopic analyses carried out at the Royal College of Forestry in Stockholm confirm the information of N. F. Katanov, ›Buben i kolotushka shamana po opisaniju Minusinskikh tatar‹, in: Tomskija universitetskija izvestija, otdel' I (Tomsk 1889), p. 237, ›Pisma N. F. Katanova‹ (footnote 5), p. 27, and E. K. Jakovlev, ›Ėtnograficheskij obzor inorodcheskogo naselenija doliny Juzhnogo Eniseja i ob'jasnitelnyj katalog ėtnograficheskogo otdela muzeja‹, in: Opisanie Minusinskogo muzeja 4 (Minusinsk 1900), p. 56, that the wood for the frame of the drum was taken from a crimson willow (*salix fragilis L*). The same analyses also have revealed that the hand grip is made of wood from a birch tree. The wood must be cut out of these trees in such a way that they are allowed to continue to grow. If they dry up, it is considered an evil omen. Moreover, all splinters and shavings of the wood are carefully gathered up and buried, so that no one, particularly no women, will tread on them and thereby desecrate the drum. The handle is made under the supervision of an old experienced man, usually a relative of the shaman (cf. footnote 6, p. 129).

10 Prokof'eva (footnote 3), p. 447.

11 In 1772 Peter Simon Pallas, Reise durch verschiedene Provinzen des Russischen Reiches (St. Petersburg 1771–1776), vol. 3, p. 403, observed among the Kachin a shaman who – judging from his description – used only the hand grip of a drum. He writes: »Instead of the magic drum, he had in his one hand a piece of wood, which was round in the middle but at both ends flat like an oar. It was also decorated with a little bell. He beat this piece of wood very skillfully with a wooden stick, striking the two ends alternately. Many Kyzyl magicians, too, are supposed to use this magical thing until, as they profess, their spirits give them permission to use the drum.« – The shamans often did not receive their

A wrought-iron quadrangular horizontal bar is inserted right over the base of the upper half of the pyramidal stump. Through holes of corresponding size it is passed through the hand grip and fitted into the frame at both ends. On both sides of the hand grip it forms, roughly in the center, small bulges protruding upwards. It is possible that they were made to prevent the horizontal bar from sliding out of the holes when the drum was played, or so that there would be no interference with the vibrations of the idiophone objects attached to it. On the horizontal bar on each side of the hand grip hang four bells cast in bronze, with iron rings as clappers. In addition, five forged metal cones are fastened onto it. Their upper ends are curled in the form of a hook and inserted directly into the horizontal bar. As idiophone elements the bells, as well as the cones striking one another, must have contributed considerably to the intensification of the acoustical-magical effect produced by a performance on the drum. Charged with potential energy, this sound stimulated and electrified the shamans of the Khakass[12]. Between them are also a total of 20 cloth strips of white and colored cotton tied to the horizontal bar. Furthermore, five iron plates curved in the form of a sickle also belong to the idiophone elements. On both sides of the hand grip they are hooked into loops on the upper inside of the frame by their conical bent ends. Without doubt there were originally six. This is plainly evident from the drill-hole that was made for the loop of the iron plate, which latter has fallen off and is no longer extant.

The skin is that of a horse[13]. Its basic color is yellowish grey. While still moist it was stretched over the frame, exposing the side that was not weather-beaten but plucked of the hairs. The skin is drawn down over the edge about 1 cm and stitched onto it with strings of tendon. The skin was torn in two places, probably because the shaman beat it too hard, and was repaired by sewed-on patches. This may have detracted from the sound quality of the drum. Before the covering three wooden pegs were inserted into the inside of the frame at the top, on each side of the hand grip. They protrude under the skin on the outside. In the literature on shamanism they are often called resonators. For the time being, however, nothing certain can be said about their acoustic function. Experimental investigations may provide more information in the future. There are drawings on the outside of the skin which will be discussed below.

Symbolism

The drum as a whole is called »tūr« or »tüngür«, a word borrowed from Mongolian. It is also called, less frequently, »chagal«, originally an Uigurian word[14]. Each of its different parts has a

paraphernalia all at once, but in a certain sequence. This has to do with the ideas concerning the successive growth of their supernatural powers. The article described by Pallas was undoubtedly the attribute of one who was in the process of becoming a shaman. He would not receive the drum until later, after he had attained some experience in his activity.

12 N. M. Jadrintsev, ›Über die Bewohner des Altai und die Tschernschen Tataren‹, in: Russische Revue, Monatsschrift für die Kunde Russlands 21 (1882), p. 517.

13 Here too microscopic examinations carried out at the Ethnographic Museum in Stockholm confirm the information of Katanov, ›Buben i kolotushka shamana‹ (footnote 9), p. 237, and Jakovlev (footnote 9), p. 56, that the skin of horses was used on the drums of the Khakass. Originally they were undoubtedly hides of wild animals with antlers (see Katanov, Obrazcy narodnoj literatury [footnote 2], p. 551). This is also evident from, among other things, the fact that in the imagination of their shamans the elk and the mountain goat figure as protectors of the horses (ibidem, p. 580). L. P. Potapov, ›Buben teleutskoj shamanki i ego risunki‹, in: Sbornik muzeja antropologii i ètnografii 10 (Moskva-Leningrad 1949), p. 198, says that the Teleut in the Altai region switched to the skins of horses, as wild animals with antlers were hard to come by. Diószegi, ›How to become a shaman‹ (footnote 7), p. 93, says, though, that even up until recent times, hides of mountain goats, reindeer, or bears were used in addition to those of horses.

14 For the semantics of the word see L. P. Potapov, ›K semantike nazvanij shamanskikh bubnov u narodnostej Altaja‹, in: Sovetskaja tjurkologija 3 (Baku 1970), p. 86; idem, ›The shaman drum as a source of ethnographical history‹, in: Shamanism in Siberia, ed. by V. Diószegi and M. Hoppál (Budapest 1978), p. 174.
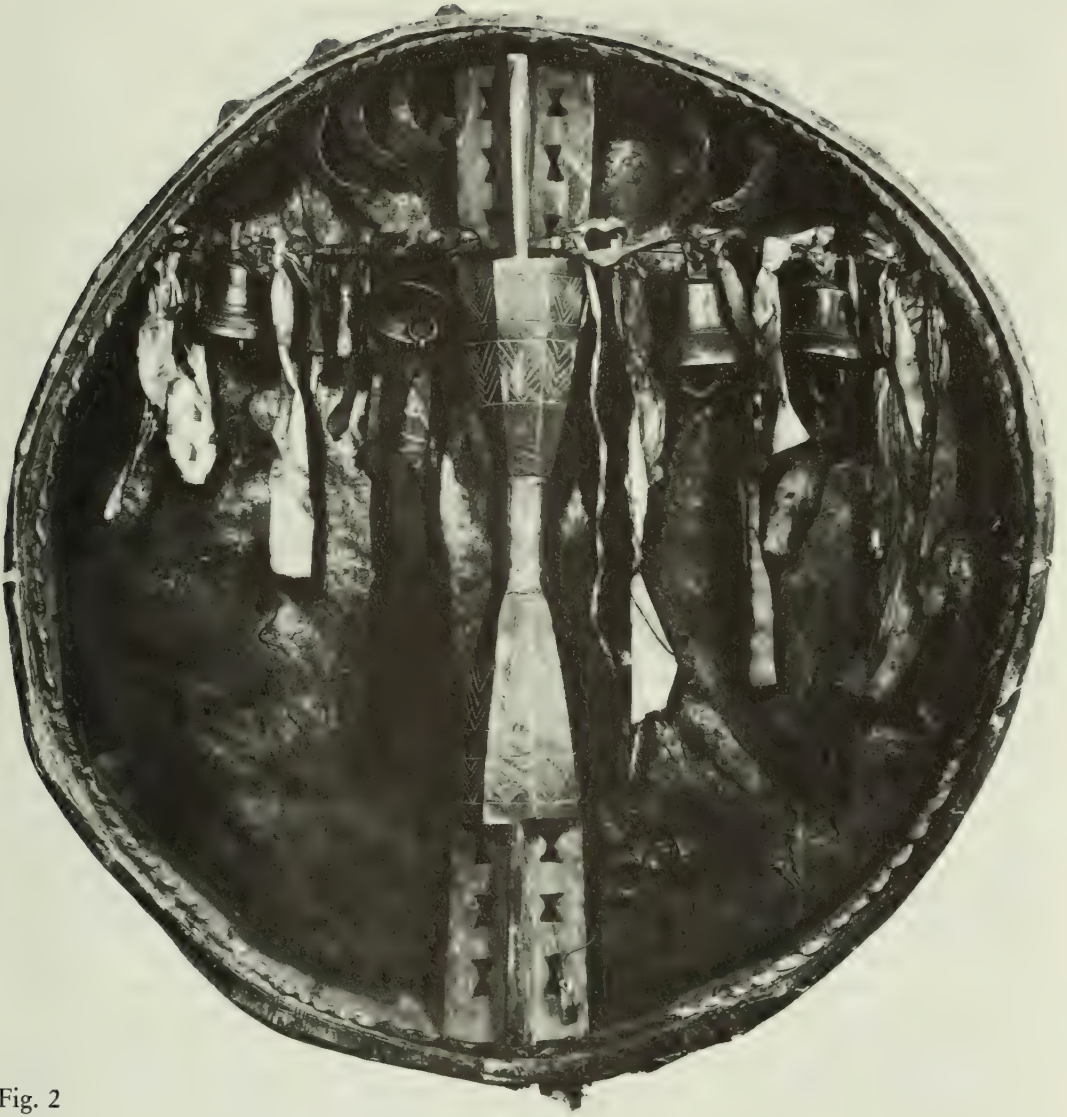
Fig. 2

special symbolic meaning relating to the magical-religious world view of the shaman who once used it. N. F. Katanov, a respected Turkologist and an ethnographer of the shool of Wilhelm Radloff, belonged to a clan of the Khakass himself. Katanov, whose sources are for the most part shamans, characterizes the meaning of the drum among the Khakass as follows[15]:

1 as an animal used for riding and the drumstick as a whip which the shaman uses to drive it on,
2 as a boat and the drumstick as an oar, when he has to cross »the great sea«, and
3 as a bow and the drumstick as an arrow, to scare off hostile spirits or to shoot at them.

15 N. F. Katanov, ›Otchët o poezdke, sovershennoj s 15-go maja po 1-e sentjabrja 1896 g. v Minusinskij okrug‹, in: Uchenye zapiski Kazanskogo universiteta (Kazan 1897), p. 29.

The same symbolic meanings of the shaman drum are to be found elsewhere in the region of Siberian shamanism.

The inside of the drum

The hand grip on the shaman drum of the Khakass is called by them, as well as by other Turkish-speaking peoples of the Altai-Sayan region, »mars«, meaning »tiger«[16]. More specifically, this is a tiger with six pairs of eyes. It is the master of the drum and subordinate to the shaman. It assists him on his soul travels, whether he flies through the air to Kudai Kan, the supreme god of heaven, or to Erlik Khan, the powerful ruler of the underworld[17]. The six pairs of eyes obviously correspond to the holes cut out in hourglass form located in the wooden plate on both sides of the ridge. At the same time these are an assembly point of cosmic helping spirits whom the shaman calls in during his conjuration. They go into the drum through the holes on one side and, after the conjuration has been performed, out again on the other side[18]. In the course of this the shaman acquires the particular characteristics and powers of his helping spirits. In their company or even in their shape and in continual metamorphosis, be it as fish, bull, bird, or wasp, etc., he surmounts the difficulties that he encounters on his way in the supernatural world. During the conjuration the spirits manifest their presence as the shaman, in a state of trance, emits animal cries and imitates the behavior of the various animals in the form of pantomime or dance. He consults with them, and they give him instructions on how to conduct himself on his soul travels. H. von Lankenau gives a detailed account, based on Russian sources, of such a cult drama[19]. This description captures the peculiar atmosphere, so intense and suggestive, of this course of events:

At dusk relations, friends and neighbours assemble in the tent chosen for the ceremony, light a fire in the middle of it [...] and sit down inside, either keeping silent or talking quietly with one another. Now the shaman appears, takes off his long fur, and fumigates the tjur [= drum] which he holds in his left hand, and the orba [= drumstick] which he holds in his right. Now the ceremony begins. He sits down on the ground by the fire and starts beating the drum with the mallet, at first slowly and lightly, then harder and louder. Soon, however, he whistles slowly and continuously, thus calling in the spirits. One now hears a double tone, one which he produces by drawing in air, and a second which he ejaculates as a shrill cry. Then he sings, conjures up the spirits and calls them by name, while he moves back and forth, continually swaying his head, which he conceals with the drum. His singing thus sounds muffled and seems to come from out of the depths [...] The Tatars assure us that the shaman performs the whole ceremony with his eyes closed; he is so absorbed in himself while his soul is hovering in higher regions that he neither hears nor sees anything. The spirits fly around him, they say, in the shape of owls (Tschabalgus-toska), they ride on red foxes and accompany him on his religious journey; while he himself likewise rides on an Isiki [= victim animal], a raven (kuskun) or an owl (jugu), whichever he finds expedient. Thus if one often hears »kurr« in his singing, he is riding on a raven; if one hears »uch«, he is riding an owl; if one hears the sharp but soft word »kwokwo«, then the spirits are talking with him in the form of owls [...] The beating of the drum becomes duller and more intense and the singing becomes louder. He strikes the poles of the tent three times with the orba [= drumstick] and emits a piercing trill, which is a sign that the spirits are to appear. He bids them come closer and promises them water [probably as a libation] [...] The spirits come closer and drink the water by drops [...] As soon as the shaman has quenched their thirst with water, he runs out of the tent to consult with them [...]

16 Katanov (footnote 9), p. 237.
17 ibidem.
18 Klements (footnote 1), p. 25.
19 H. von Lankenau, ›Die Schamanen und das Schamanenwesen‹, in: Globus 22 (Braunschweig 1872), p. 282.

Another impressive depiction of the gathering of the spirits in the drum is afforded by Wilhelm Radloff[20]. He does not describe here, though, an invocation of the Khakass, but one of the Altai Kizhi, an ethnic group of the Altai region. He reports how the shaman at the beginning of the séance calls his helping spirits into the drum and how he groans out their arrival in a changed, deeper voice with the words »ā kam ai« (= Hey? Qam, here I am!«). After that he inclines the drum outwards a bit and makes a swaying movement with his arms, so that one clearly perceives that the spirit has now been taken up into the drum. The shaman thus continues on and on to collect his spirits by turn into the drum, and each one answers him straightway with the same words: »Hey? Qam, here I am!«. In another passage Radloff writes: »The more spirits the shaman gathers up, the harder he beats on the drum. The latter now seems so heavy that it begins to sway back and forth, weighted down by the load.«[21]

Radloff was also present at a shaman séance among the Sagaj[22]:

Here it was a female shaman in action [...] This woman conducted herself in a much wilder manner than the Altaian shamans; she ran around the fire, sang with an altered voice, imitated different animal voices and ascended in this way from one heavenly stratum to another until she had captured all her helpers in the drum. With these she drove the evil spirit out of the tent and into the open air. Having returned, she went into the highest ecstasy, finally let the drum fall and fell down herself as if dead.[23]

Like the six pairs of tiger eyes, the ridges in the middle of the wooden plate have their own special meaning. They symbolize high mountain crests and passes through which the shaman must force his way on his soul travels in the beyond, in order to get to Kudai Kan or to the cruel and greedy Erlik Khan[24].

The horizontal bar and its magical accessories

Among the Khakass, as well as among the Turkish-speaking peoples of the Altai-Sayan region, the horizontal bar is called »täbir qirish« (literally, »iron [bow]-string«)[25]. This term refers to a pre-shamanistic time or to an early phase of shamanism, when not yet the drum but the bow and arrow were the ritual equipment, serving to scare off hostile spirits or to shoot at them. The connection between drum and bow is clearly a relic idea and relates to a transformation of the magical ideology and tactical approach. Similarly, the original idea of the arrow was adapted to the new conception and reinterpreted as a whip. We cannot go into any greater detail here. Instead, the reader is referred to an essay by L. P. Potapov, who, with the aid of linguistic analyses, ethnographical data, and personal observations, has convincingly shown that an exchange must have taken place between the magical bow and the drum in an early phase of shamanism[26]. Also of special importance here is Katanov's information about one of the functions of the shaman drums of the Khakass, which tends to confirm this thesis.

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20 Wilhelm Radloff, Aus Sibirien. Lose Blätter aus meinem Tagebuch (Leipzig 1893), vol. 2, pp. 22 and 30.
21 ibidem, vol. 2., p. 32.
22 ibidem, vol. 1, p. 377.
23 A detailed description of a shaman séance among the Khakass is also given by P. Tyzhnov in: Otchët Krasnojarskogo eparkhial'nogo komiteta pravoslavnogo Missionerskogo obshchestva za 1901 god, no. 7 (Kazan 1902), p. 205.
24 Katanov (footnote 9), p. 237, and (footnote 15), p. 29.
25 ibidem.
26 L. P. Potapov, ›Luk i strela v shamanstve u Altajcev‹, in: Sovetskaja ėtnografija 3 (Moskva-Leningrad 1934), p. 70. Regarding this see also Ernst Emsheimer, ›Zur Ideologie der lappischen Zaubertrommel‹, in: Studia ethnomusicologica eurasiatica (Stockholm 1964), p. 28.

The bells (»son«) have a symbolic double meaning. On the one hand the shamans call them their messengers[27], on the other hand they are supposed to help them recite their prayers freely[28]. A double meaning, though contradictory, is also accorded to cones (»küngür«). According to Katanov, they are supposed to drive away impure spirits that have taken up abode in the body of a sick person[29]. Potapov says that its noise warns the shaman of danger when a hostile rival shaman is trying to devour his soul[30]. According to P. Tyzhnov[31] and V. Sukhovskij[32], however, their function is to entertain and cheer up the spirits. The latter piece of information would seem to be connected with a complex of motifs found throughout the world, according to which the spirits are thought of as lovers of sounds and music[33]. The (originally) six iron plates (»qylyz«), which are hinged in loops at the top of the frame, also have, like the cones, an apotropaic function. They are called »swords« and serve the shaman to ward off or to combat hostile demons[34].

The bands (»tchalam«) on the horizontal bar are gifts tied on by those in whose tent the shaman happens to be performing his conjuration[35]. They probably served, like the bands on the shaman costume, as a place of accommodation for the helping spirits that he had collected in his drum[36]. Their successive addition meant that he had perfected himself in his capacity as shaman. Their number indicates each shaman's effectiveness, strength, and power[37]. When an animal is offered to Erlik Khan, two or three of these cloth strips are removed from the horizontal bar and hung around the neck of the animal victim as a talisman against impure powers[38].

Finally, we recall here the six pegs inserted into the inside of the frame at the top, which are visible as protuberances under the skin on the outside. One shaman called the frame of the drum with the skin »Father Egir with the six chest nipples«[39]. Unfortunately, I have not been able to identify »Father Egir«. I suspect that he is one of the seven or nine »kudai« who are advisers and assistants to the supreme god and have their abode in one of the upper heavenly strata. »Father Egir« could then be interpreted as the helping spirit of the shaman, or as his mythical »mother animal«, whose skin is stretched over the drum and which he rides in the world of the spirits. He is the shaman's double, as it were, and has the tasks of taking up his vitality into himself, of supporting and preserving him. The shaman and his drum are essentially identical; if the drum gets damaged or breaks, he becomes sick or must die.

The outside of the drum

In the literature on shamanism the figures depicted on the drum skin are often characterized as a kind of mythical world map or a small-scale representation of the cosmos. This also applies to

27 Katanov (footnote 9), p. 237.
28 Katanov, Obrazcy narodnoj literatury (footnote 2), p. 551.
29 ›Pisma N. F. Katanova‹ (footnote 5), p. 27.
30 Potapov (footnote 6), p. 131.
31 Tyzhnov, ›Prizyvanie dukhov Kamami nagornom zhertvo-prinoshenii Minusinskikh inorodcev‹, in: Otchët Krasnojarskogo eparkhial'nogo komiteta pravoslavnogo obshchestva za 1902 god, no. 10 (Kazan 1902), p. 343.
32 V. Sukhovskij, ›O shamanstvu v Minusinskom krae‹, in: Izvestija obshchestva arkeologii, istorii i ètnografii pri Kazanskom universitete 17: 2–3 (Kazan 1901), p. 149.
33 See also D. K. Zelenin, Kul't ongonov v Sibiri (Moskva-Leningrad 1936), p. 21.
34 Katanov (footnote 9), p. 237, and ›Pisma N. F. Katanova‹ (footnote 5), p. 28.
35 ibidem.
36 Sukhovskij (footnote 32), p. 149.
37 Katanov (footnote 9), p. 237.
38 Katanov (footnote 5), p. 113, and ›Pisma N. F. Katanova‹ (footnote 5), p. 28.
39 Katanov (footnote 5), p. 116, (footnote 9), p. 239, and Obrazcy narodnoj literatury (footnote 2), p. 553.

Fig. 3

the drawings on the skin of our shaman drum (*fig. 3*). They too must be understood against the background of symbolism; they are related to the cosmic world view of the shaman who once possessed our drum. Every detail points to this.

Owing to external conditions, the interpretation of the individual representations is not always easy. The colors have faded or have come off because they were once applied too thickly, and they were also damaged by the shaman's beating on his drum. Furthermore, the skin is in places overlaid by a thin layer of dirt, so that the figures cannot always be clearly made out[40]. In some places they are scarcely visible or disappear completely. These facts become clear when one compares the drawings on the drum skin with the depictions – to be sure, very inaccurate – that Klements made nearly a hundred years ago (*fig. 4*)[41]. Inner criteria too, however, make interpretation more difficult in a number of cases where there is not sufficient material to allow for it. Therefore, in the following discussion, primarily those figures and figure motifs will be treated that form more or less stable elements on the drum skins of the Khakass and can be deciphered with some degree of certainty.

The colors were previously extracted by the Khakass themselves from natural mineral substances found in large quantities in the areas where they lived, and were thus easily obtainable[42]. Perhaps they followed the same procedure as the Shor in the Altai region, i. e.,

40 Moreover, exposure of the skin of our drum to ultraviolet light and an X-ray examination of it with weak radiation yielded no results. No further details could be revealed. S. V. Ivanov, ›K voprosu o znachenii izobrazhenij na starinnykh predmetakh kul'ta u narodov Sayano-Altajskogo nagorja‹, in: Sbornik muzeja antropologii i ètnografii 16 (Moskva-Leningrad 1955), p. 180, established that, of the drawings on the drums of the Khakass, only a few are preserved in their original state.
41 Regarding this see S. V. Ivanov's criticism (footnote 40), p. 180, of Klements's depictions of the shaman drums. His depiction of our drum as well, and his description of it, leave much to be desired.
42 S. V. Ivanov, ›Materialy po izobrazitel'nomu iskusstva narodov Sibiri XIX – nachala XX v.‹, in: Trudy instituta ètnografii, Novaja Serija, vol. 22 (Moskva-Leningrad 1954), p. 593.
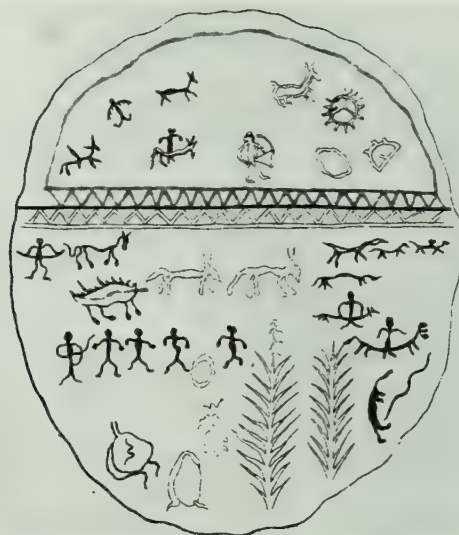
Fig. 4

heating the substances to a liquid state, adding glue, and applying the paint with a small wooden stick[43]. Since the last century the colors have been purchasable.

The structure of the cosmological depictions on the drum skin of the Khakass is for the most part always the same. It is also found everywhere on the shaman drums of the Turkish-speaking peoples in the Altai region. The surface is divided into upper and lower halves by a strip. The upper half symbolizes the upper world, the lower half the underworld, and the strip between them the middle or terrestrial world. Within this basic structure, however, numerous individual variants in style and execution can be observed (*fig. 5*). They follow without doubt the instructions given to each shaman by the master of the holy mountain of his clan, which are passed on by the shaman to the members of his clan and then carried out by the latter. Thus it should be understandable that on the drum skins of the Khakass no two depictions are alike, although some motif complexes continually recur. They differ, however, considerably from one another in respect to their location on the pictorial surface, their structuring, and in their stylistic details. On all the drum skins, however, the figures on the upper as well as the lower halves personify those helping spirits that the master of the holy mountain of the clan has assigned to each respective shaman. The figures on the upper half personify the good and pure spirits, those on the lower half the impure or evil spirits. The latter are weaker than the former.

The individual figures on our shaman drum are on the borderline between picture and sign. They are far from being a true-to-life, realistic representation of concrete things. They form, as it were, symbolic configurations or ideograms. In the choice of motifs, in their strict stylization and indigenous simplicity, they are similar to the rock drawings throughout Siberia, especially those in the region of the upper Yenisej, the home district of the Khakass today[44]. One can discern in these figures elements of an early hunting culture, which have their origin as far back as in late paleolithic times. Later, components of a neolithic agrarian culture and of archaic advanced civilizations of southern and eastern Asia found their way into the religious imaginations of the

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43 L. P. Potapov – [Karl] Menges, ›Materialien zur Volkskunde der Türkvölker des Altai‹, in: Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen an der Friedrich-Wilhelm Universität zu Berlin 37 (Berlin 1934), p. 62.

44 See the monumental publication of I. T. Savenko, O drevnykh pamjatnikakh izobrazitel'nogo iskusstva na Enisee (Moskva 1910).
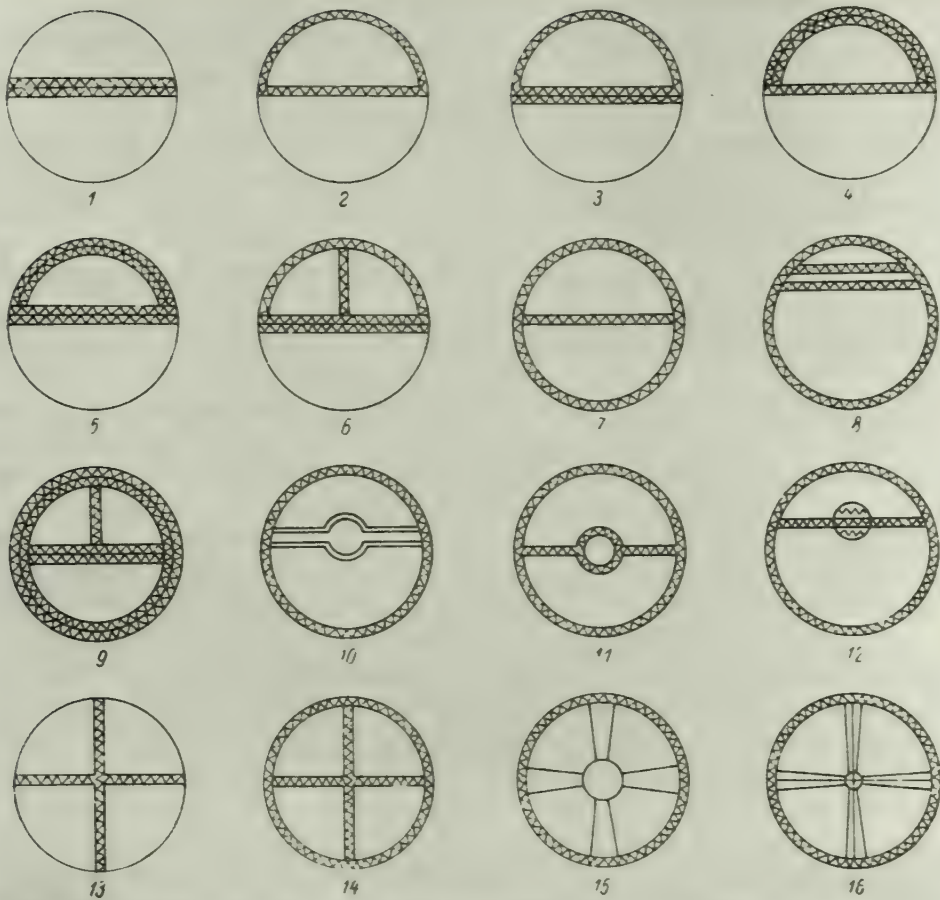
Fig. 5

Siberian peoples. These components, however, could not cover up or conceal the common substrate of the old Eurasian hunting culture, the so-called animal stratum.

In the interpretation of the drawings that follows I will make frequent reference to two works by the Russian shamanologist S. V. Ivanov, an expert on the decorative art of the Siberian peoples[45]. He analyzed the drawings of a total of 50 drums of the Khakass preserved in various museums throughout the Soviet Union. When available, he included the museums' recorded statements made by the shamans who once possessed the drums[46] or by sources well acquainted with the old animistic beliefs of the Khakass. In addition, he made extensive use of information in the relevant ethnological literature, especially the older works from the turn of the century. I too have made use of this literature.

Let us begin with the strip that divides the upper world from the underworld and represents the middle world.

45 Ivanov (footnotes 40 and 42).
46 Wilhelm Radloff (footnote 20), vol. 2, p. 2, writes: »The shamans themselves, who could be our only reliable sources, are generally afraid to reveal their secrets, and wrap themselves up in the aura of the secret.«

The middle world

The middle world is clearly one of the stable elements in the depictions on the drum skins of the Khakass. However, its purely geometrical and abstract basic form varies considerably in execution (*fig. 6*). On our drum it is formed by three parallel horizontal lines, the upper one in red, the middle one in black, and the lower one in white. According to the shamans they symbolize the three strata of the earth[47]. Between these zigzag lines are drawn, which thus form triangular surfaces. One shaman described them as »the distant journey of the shaman«[48], another as mountains[49], and still another as suspension bridges that make it possible for the shaman to cross rivers on his soul travels[50]. Inside the triangular surfaces between the middle and lower horizontal lines are small cruciform patterns in red. They symbolize stars and are called, like the sun and the moon, »lights of the creator god«[51].

The upper world

Unlike the shaman drums from the Altai-Sayan region, the upper world on this drum occupies the smaller half of the pictorial surface and is called »tchygyttchych«. It is encompassed by a red strip parallel to the edge of the frame in the form of an arch. This strip is called »tigir kurim« (rainbow = celestial belt) and the shamans named it the Milky Way and the firmament[52]. On the other hand, according to a former shaman of the Kachin, it represents clouds (»bulut«), which serve to conjure up rain when the harvest is threatened by drought[53].

Under the »firmament«, in the right-hand section of the pictorial surface, the heavenly bodies are depicted close to one another in white (*fig. 7*). These include the sun (»kür«) and the moon (»af«), which, however, are now visible only on Klements's illustration. They are among the most constant of the pictorial motifs on the shaman drums of the Khakass. Ivanov established that they were depicted on 38 of 50 drums[54]. The figure of the sun is of special interest. Like the ones on the drums from Altai, this sun figure has no anthropomorphic features. Rather, like the moon, it is represented in the abstract as an impersonal force, as the fountainhead of all growth. According to Ivanov it usually has the form of a circle with or without rays; occasionally it has the form of a square[55]. The figure of the sun on our drum seems to deviate from the norm; it seems to be an exception. It is a pointed oval and divided into sectors on the inside. The figure of the moon is an exception to the rule, too. Klements depicts it as a half moon instead of a full moon.

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47 Katanov (footnote 9), p. 238.
48 L. P. Potapov, ›Die Schamanentrommel bei den altaischen Völkerschaften‹, in: Glaubenswelt und Folklore der sibirischen Völker (Budapest 1963), p. 248, and (footnote 6), p. 135.
49 Katanov, Obrazcy narodnoj literatury (footnote 2), p. 550.
50 Shamanstvo i shamany (quoted in Ivanov [footnote 40], p. 187). Ivanov makes here the interesting comment that suspension bridges were completely unknown to the Khakass in the nineteenth century. According to him, the idea of these had been preserved in their memory, going back to the time when their forefathers or neighboring peoples took part in the military actions of rulers from eastern and central Asia. This confirms L. P. Potapov's thesis (see footnote 14, ›The shaman drum‹, p. 169) that the study of shaman drums is of great importance with respect to ethnohistorical and ethnogenetic sources. Vilmos Diószegi, too, treats this complex of problems in his article ›Pre-Islamic shamanism of the Baraba Turks and some ethnogenetic conclusions‹, in: Shamanism in Siberia, ed. by V. Diószegi and M. Hoppál (Budapest 1978), p. 83.
51 ›Pisma N. F. Katanova‹ (footnote 5), p. 29.
52 ibidem, p. 28.
53 Potapov (footnote 48), p. 249, and (footnote 6), p. 135.
54 Ivanov (footnote 40), p. 189.
55 Ivanov (footnote 42), p. 604.

Fig. 6

Fig. 7

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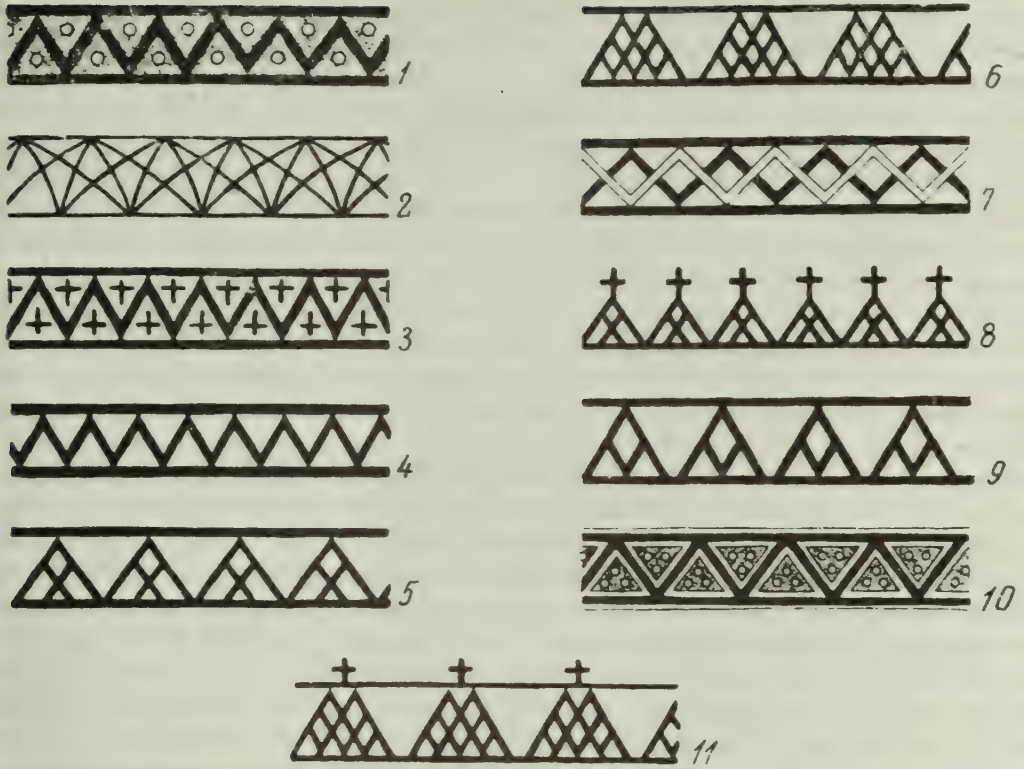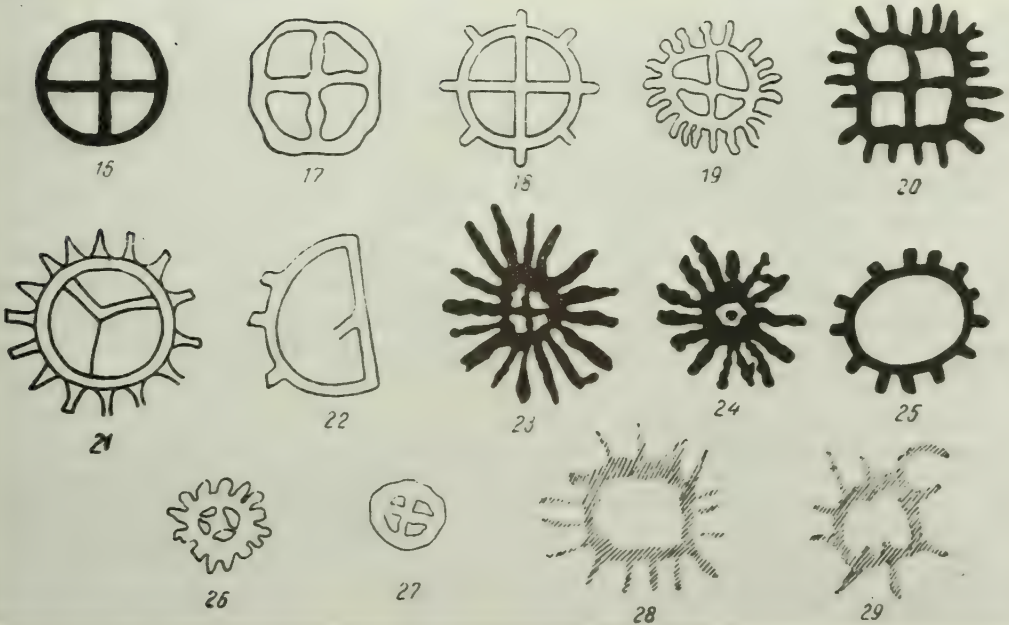
According to the former shaman of the Kachin, the sun and the moon illuminate the way of the shamans when they undertake their soul travels in the spirit world in order to heal a sick person[56]. In the mythology they figure as sisters and pure virgins who dwell somewhere in one of the upper heavenly spheres. Great power is ascribed to them. They can raise people from the dead, and when they come to the earth to visit humans for this purpose they take on the form of golden cuckoos[57].

Situated to the left of the heavenly bodies is a group of figures which is difficult to interpret. This is especially the case with the horse-like figures. Among the Khakass these are depicted in varying numbers on the upper half of the drum skin[58]; there are two on our drum. The only thing one can say for sure about them is that their white color assigns them to the upper world. It is possible that they are in fact horses; they might also be female animals with antlers, such as mountain goats, elks, deer, or reindeer. Since the figures do not show characteristic features of any particular animal species, it is impossible to identify them. Perhaps they represent the so-called »bura« or »pura«, i. e., mythical heavenly horses which the shaman rides on his soul travels and whose hide covers the drum[59]. We do not know.

The interpretation of the two human figures below the presumptive heavenly horses is beset with no less difficulty. The one holds a drawn bow with an arrow in his hands, the other is riding an animal. One cannot be certain whether the latter holds in his hand a small bow or a stick for throwing, which was once used among the Khakass as a weapon in hunting animals for their fur. In any case, the bow and the stick bear witness to the great importance hunting with these weapons had for the Khakass before firearms were introduced to them. With their help an older, archaic economic system can be reconstructed, which was based above all on hunting. The bow and the stick, however, continued to live on in the memory of the shamans. They were thus incorporated into the two drawings on the skin of our shaman drum. I will not venture to say anything about the symbolic meaning of the two figures; I prefer, rather, to heed the saying, »He is a fool who says more than he knows.«

The two birds with outspread wings located to the left on the upper part of the pictorial surface, are another matter. Ivanov[60] says that on most of the shaman drums of the Khakass (37 of 50) hovering birds are depicted in numbers varying from one to six. But it is hard to identify them, he says, because their outlines for the most part do not allow for it[61]. There are good reasons for assuming, however, that the two birds on the skin of our drum are eagles. According to Ivanov[62] they always appear in pairs; and so do ours.

The cultic worship of the eagle is a universal phenomenon. Owing to the special distinguishing characteristics of this »king of birds« (exceptional strength, zestful flight at invisible and inaccessible heights, large gleaming eyes, peaceable behavior towards men), the cultic worship of them occurs everywhere throughout the world where eagles are or have been found. The worship of them makes up, as it were, an archetype. The credit is due mainly to Leo Sternberg for the working out of the characteristic individual features of the eagle cult among the Ural-Altaian

56 Potapov (footnote 48), p. 249, and (footnote 6), p. 135.
57 Ivanov (footnote 40), p. 192.
58 ibidem, p. 200.
59 See the essay by L. P. Potapov, ›Sledy totemistichskikh predstavleniju u Altajcev‹, in: Sovetskaja ėtnografija 3–4 (Moskva-Leningrad 1935). He discusses here the »pura«-complex at length and demonstrates the relationship of the worship of wild animals with antlers to the totemistic rites that were dedicated to the ancestors of the clan. Cf. also Diószegi (footnote 50), p. 111.
60 Ivanov (footnote 40), p. 196.
61 ibidem.
62 ibidem.

peoples[63]. We will not, however, enter into any greater detail about this here. It will only be mentioned briefly that in the mythology of many north Asian peoples the eagle is associated with the sun and is imagined as the creator of worlds and the ruler of those who dwell in heaven. It lives high up in the tops of the world tree, the tree of life and of magic. In nests on its branches the souls of future shamans are hatched and nurtured. At the same time, there is a mysterious connection between the world tree and that tree from which the wood is taken for the frames of the shaman drums[64]. Seen from the viewpoint of the history of religion, this mythical complex is apparently one of those universal basic motifs which in the end can be traced back to the Mesopotamian primeval myth of the Tree of Life. In the course of a long and complicated process, which must have spanned many centuries, this myth penetrated into the religious imagination of the Siberian peoples. Proof of this is given by, among other things, the agreement between corresponding terms which belong to this complex[65]. Concerning the eagle mythology, the Kachin have a predilection for a remarkable and interesting myth about the origin of shamanism. According to this, the eagle is the progenitor of the first shaman, as well as the totem animal and the protector of a certain clan. Through the mediation of the women who left their clans and married into others, the gift of shamanism was passed on to the other clans[66]. This, then, is the explanation for the fact that the two eagles were included on our shaman drum as man and woman. They are called »ike-karagus« and are regarded as protectors of the shamans, as their faithful friends and companions. They have the task of flying up to the spirit world as scouts and as mediators with the supreme god[67]. The shamans call them »black birds«. Accordingly, they are projected onto the skin of our drum in black, even though they belong to the upper heavenly spheres.

The underworld

This is the kingdom of Erlik Khan, the cruel god of death, who judges the souls of the dead. He makes slaves out of many, has them work for him, and feeds on their blood. He ist the personification of everything evil. His gloomy realm is inhabited by evil spirits (»aina«), which pester the human beings on earth and inflict on them grief and harm. They cause sickness and spread disease among the livestock too.

As is the case with other drums of the Khakass, on ours the underworld occupies the greater half of the entire pictorial surface. Ivanov did a statistical survey and found that the number of figure motifs depicted in the underworld is far greater than that of those depicted in the upper half. According to his calculations the ratio is 35:21[68], and on our drum it is proportionally even more than this. Judging from the illustrations available to me, it seems axiomatic that most of the figures on the drums of the Khakass move from left to right, and this holds for both the upper and the lower halves. The same applies to the figures on the drum skins of the peoples from the

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63 Leo Sternberg, ›Der Adlerkult bei den Völkern Sibiriens‹, in: Archiv für Religionswissenschaft 28 (Leipzig-Berlin 1930), pp. 126 ff.; cf. Uno Harva, Die religiösen Vorstellungen der altaischen Völker (Helsinki 1938), pp. 43 and 84.
64 See Ernst Emsheimer, ›Schamanentrommel und Trommelbaum‹, in: Studia ethnomusicologica eurasiatica (Stockholm 1964), p. 50.
65 Ivanov (footnote 40), p. 196.
66 Sternberg (footnote 63), p. 144. A similar myth is also found among the Yakut (see Sternberg [footnote 63], p. 132, and Mircea Eliade, Schamanismus und archaische Ekstasetechnik [Zürich-Stuttgart 1957], p. 79).
67 Klements (footnote 1), p. 26.
68 Ivanov (footnote 40), p. 207.
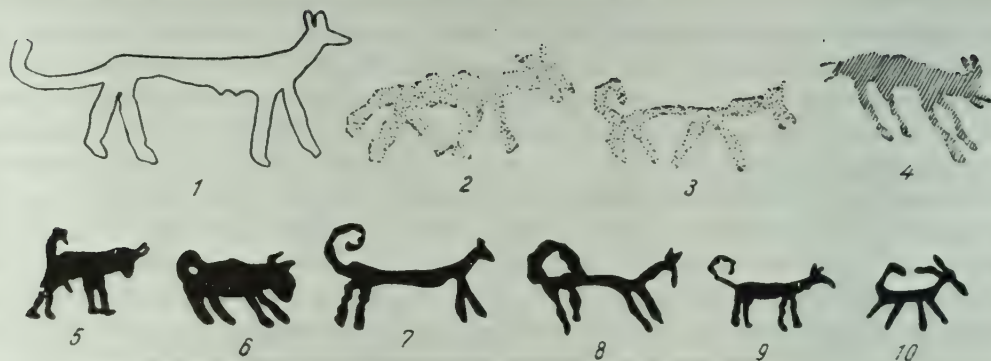
Fig. 8

Altai region. To my knowledge, this phenomenon has not been discussed in the shamanological literature until now. Presumably it is related to cosmological or cosmographic ideas. Let us now turn, however, to an examination of the individual figures.

In the upper left-hand corner, just below the strip, we see a human figure with an object in his hand. It is not easy to make out exactly what it is, but it appears to be a stick for throwing. In front of him is an animal with a long neck and a tail. One would probably not go wrong in assuming that this animal is a hunting dog used to track down animals with fur. A comparison with Ivanov's depictions of dogs seems to confirm this *(fig. 8)*. Unlike these dogs, though, ours goes in front of the hunter instead of behind him, as is the norm. In the shamanistic imaginary world the dogs, or rather their souls, together with the souls of wolves, accompany the shamans on their soul travels in far-off lands and warn them in good time of the approach of evil spirits[69].

Below the dog is depicted a four-footed animal with short legs and bristles standing on end *(fig. 9)*. Its body has an elliptical form and a red horizontal line drawn through its middle, sticking out in front. Its open jaws are suggested by two short oblique lines. Without doubt an animal-like monster is depicted here, more specifically a mythical sea monster. It was given the name »ker palyk«, the word »ker« being an epithet meaning »gigantic«[70]. Among various peoples in the Altai region this monster appears in the shamanistic cosmology as guardian of the dark palace of Erlik Khan. This is situated at the place where nine rivers unite to form one single river, filled with the tears of men. When this monster moves, the earth shakes. It is one of the most powerful helping spirits of the shaman, and it protects him from, among other things, the souls of the dead that threaten to devour him. With reference to the writings of Katanov, Ivanov writes about this monster:

> They [the Khakass] sometimes draw pictures on the lower part of their drum of various fantastic animals, sea monsters, whose shape is not quite clear. One cannot always decide whether they are fish or dragons. Its name, »ker palyk«, indicates that it is a fish. Ker palyk is described as a frightful monster of enormous size that lives deep down in the bottom of the sea. The legendary heroes sacrifice sixty children every year to this monster. The shamans see in this monster their helper in curing boils. Ker palyk had to suck the poison out of the boils, thereby mitigating the suffering of the sick person[71].

69 Katanov (footnote 9), p. 238, ›Pisma N. F. Katanova‹ (footnote 5), p. 30, and Obrazcy narodnoj literatury (footnote 2), p. 580.
70 Potapov-Menges (footnote 43), p. 92; Diószegi (footnote 50), p. 123.
71 Ivanov (footnote 40), p. 213. Sucking on ailing parts of the body is an archaic healing technique which was practiced in a pre-shamanistic time or an early phase of shamanism. It is based on the notion that a sick person is inhabited by an impure spirit which is thought to be partly material. It was then the task of the shaman to suck on the part of the body
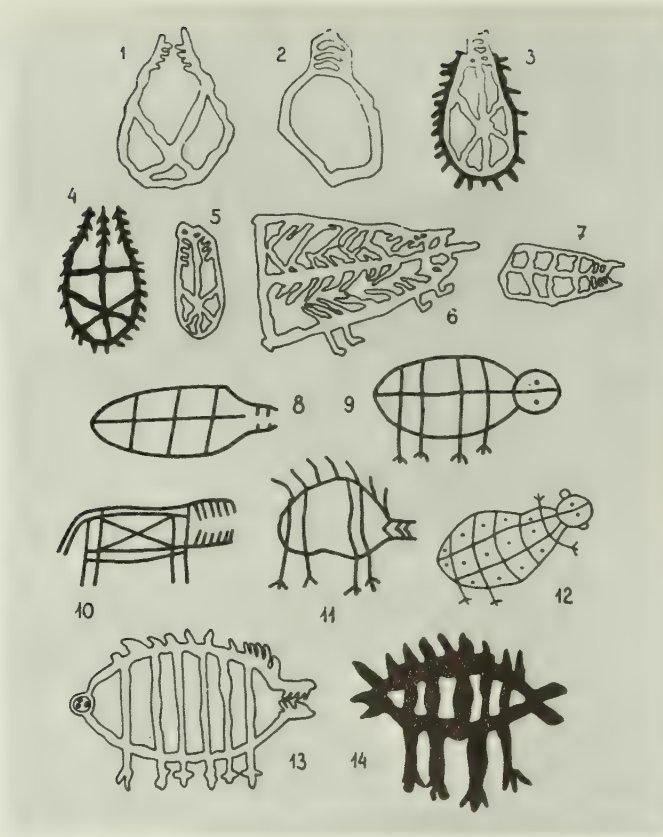
Fig. 9

In contrast to the many figures of »ker palyk« on the drum skins of the peoples from the Altai region, there are but a few on those of the Khakass – a total of four, to be exact[72]. The figure on our drum would seem to be one of these four.

Below this monster is a somewhat irregular series of human figures with arms bent, with fingers spread out, or holding hands. On the drums of the Khakass this series usually consists of seven figures[73], but on our drum there are only five. Judging from their position on the drum skin, it is improbable that there ever were seven. One may nevertheless assume that they are identical with the »yellow maidens«, i. e., with the daughters of the »master of the taiga and the mountains«[74]. The latter is the owner of all the animals and birds in his local area. At the request of the hunters he delivers them over to them at his own discretion as bag[75]. He is the spirit of both the ancestors and the clan. As such he is the object of cultic worship by each particular clan, and is sacrificed to on the holy mountain. He decides which member of the clan is to become the shaman and how many drums he is to possess in his life or how long he will be allowed to

that was sick and thus assimilate the disease demon into himself. See Zelenin (footnote 33), pp. 359 and 379. The idea was perhaps later transfered to the monster.

72 Ivanov (footnote 40), p. 209.
73 ibidem, p. 206.
74 Potapov (footnote 48), p. 249.
75 Katanov (footnote 2), pp. 245 and 365.

practice his shamanism. The »yellow maidens« are assistants to the spirit of the ancestors and the clan. As spirits of the woods and mountains, they are notorious for luring men to them and seducing them[76]. Incidentally, they are imagined as beings who love to hear song and music. Ivanov gives an account of the reports of an old Khakass, who told him that in the past it was considered absolutely necessary that singers and instrumentalists take part in the hunt and help to flush out the animals[77]. Although these musicians did not take an active part in the hunting themselves, they were rewarded with a full and equal share of the bag. Their task was to entertain the spirits of the woods and mountains with their singing and playing in the evenings and during the night. These musical entertainments were a kind of magic, a potent hunting ritual, and as such they were imperative. This entertainment/ritual was aimed at putting the spirits in a favorable disposition and inducing them to deliver over a good bag for the hunt the next day[78]. Ivanov writes further about this:

> In this way there is sufficient reason for including the depictions of the mountain maidens in the sphere of subjects [on the drum skins] that are directly related to the hunting practices of the Khakass tribes. Since the success of the hunt is dependent on the benevolence of these maidens toward the hunters and the shaman, the latter being the mediator between the human beings and the spirits, the aforementioned depictions on the drum [and on ours as well] are evidently deemed useful and obligatory.[79]

Below the »yellow maidens« two frogs or toads, »paga«, are depicted (*fig. 10*). These are thought by the shamans to be male and female[80]. Klements could hardly make out the two figures on our drum skin in their faint outlines. By now one of the figures has completely disappeared. These figures are among the most common motifs appearing on the drum skins of the Khakass, found on 37 of 50[81]. As a rule they are depicted as seen from above. In comparison with other figure motifs these are always drawn disproportionately large[82]. According to the view of the shamans, the frog is the protector of the sheep and combats the evil spirits that fall upon them[83]. The former shaman of the Kachin reported further to Potapov that the frog is supposed to have power over venereal diseases[84]. The coiled snake, »tchylan«, and lizard, »keläskin«, too, perform a similar function. They are represented on our drum to the far right at the edge of the skin in an upward-directed movement. According to Katanov, the shamans give them the task of conducting the impure spirits, upon whom the shamans have passed judgment, to Erlik Khan, »who lives behind ten mountain chains on the shore of the black and golden sea«[85].

76 Ivanov (footnote 40), p. 207.
77 ibidem, p. 216.
78 Radloff (footnote 20), vol. 1, p. 384, describes the scene of such a ritual in the following words: »The heroic epics [of the Khakass] were, like those of the Altaians, recited in a mumbling voice. This was usually in the evening, especially in nocturnal camps in the fall when the people stayed the night on their hunting expeditions. It is a sight worthy of an artist's portrayal to see the reciting singer, illuminated by the fire and surrounded by the crowd listening in suspense.« P. A. Trojakov, ›Promyslovaja magicheskaja funkcija skazyvanija skazok u Khakasov‹, in: Sovetskaja ètnografija 1969: 2, p. 24, has analyzed in detail the magical functions of narratives/songs before the hunt and has shown that they were performed by the Khakass, as well as by other Siberian peoples, as archaic residues. They were always related, directly or indirectly, to the master of the holy mountain of the clan in whose district they were hunting.
79 Ivanov (footnote 40), p. 217.
80 Klements (footnote 1), p. 26.
81 Ivanov (footnote 40), p. 209.
82 Ivanov (footnote 42), p. 603.
83 Katanov (footnote 9), p. 238, ›Pisma N. F. Katanova‹ (footnote 5), p. 29, and Obrazcy narodnoj literatury (footnote 2), pp. 552 and 580.
84 Potapov (footnote 48), p. 250, and (footnote 6), p. 135.
85 Katanov (footnote 9), p. 238.
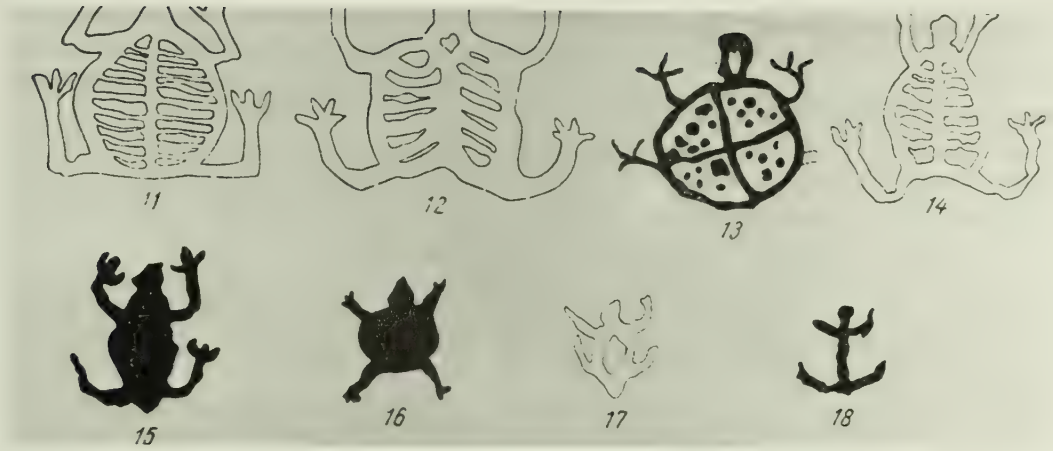
Fig. 10
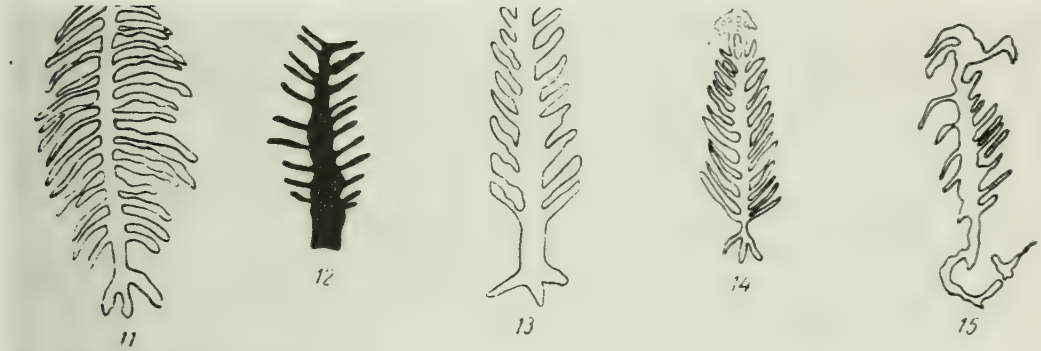
Fig. 11

To the left on the pictorial surface of the drum, close beside the lizard and the snake, two white trees are depicted whose branches extend upward symmetrically on both sides (*fig. 11*). They symbolize »the rich birches with leaves of gold« and are called »baj qazyn«[86]. They too are conceived of as male and female. They afford protection and security for human beings[87]. Sacrifices are offered to them every year[88].

The birch is a holy tree and plays a central role in the mythology of the Siberian shamans and in their mysteries. Another remarkable conception is associated with it, however. In the cosmographic view of the shamans it symbolizes the central axis of the world and joins together the three cosmic regions of the universe. It is the many-staged way which the shaman can go on his soul travels to the spirits and the gods, up to the upper world or down to the underworld, whichever is requisite. The idea that the world tree is the axis of the universe is widespread. It has found individual expression in the mythology of a number of different cultures. The Siberian peoples probably adopted it from agrarian cultures of the south. We cannot go into any greater detail here either. Instead, the reader is referred to László Vajda, who has compiled the relevant literature in an essay[89].

86 ›Pisma N. F. Katanova (footnote 5), p. 29.
87 Katanov, Obrazcy narodnoj literatury (footnote 2), p. 579.
88 Klements (footnote 1), p. 26.
89 László Vajda, ›Zur phaseologischen Stellung des Schamanismus‹, in: Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher 31 (Wiesbaden 1959), p. 470.

The figures of the two trees on the skin of our shaman drum correspond to the idea mentioned only briefly above. But there would seem to be an inconsistency in the fact that they are depicted in the lower half of the pictorial surface, i. e., in the world of Erlik Khan, even though their white color clearly assigns them to the upper world. This inconsistency, however, is in the imagination of the shamans only an apparent one. According to them the birches, as mythical trees of the underworld, grow so high that they reach all the way up into heaven, to the abode of the supreme god[90]. One shaman stated explicitly that the two trees grow under the earth[91]. Quite frequently, however, they are drawn on the upper half of the pictorial surface. According to the calculations of Ivanov the ratio is 21:15[92]. Furthermore, this context draws attention to the inner relationship and unity between the two trees and the heavenly bodies[93]. It follows from this that the former are usually depicted on the right side of the pictorial surface, below the latter; this is the case too on our drum.

Above the birch trees there is depicted a figure complex which consists of two riders with bended arms and four four-footed horse-like animals with elongated bodies, relatively short legs and small, slender heads. One cannot say anything definite about their species. Both riders are projected onto the drum skin in an extremely schematic, rigorous stylization. Accordingly, the forefeet of the animals are identical with the legs of the riders. In trying to interpret the symbolism of the figures, one is faced with insurmountable difficulties due to lack of sufficient material. One cannot penetrate here the fog of symbolism. The same holds true for the outlines of two more animals in Klements's illustration. Here they are near the middle, under the strip that symbolizes the middle world. Klements says that they were drawn in white. Today they are completely faded and have disappeared from the pictorial surface.

Unfortunately, it is thus not possible to determine the symbolism of all the figures and pictorial motives. And my explanations above are often more questions than assumptions. These may perhaps be excused because of the hindrances to their interpretation. However that may be, I believe that I have shown with my analyses how archaic elements of northern hunting cultures have combined here in fruitful interaction with ancient oriental and Asiatic civilizations of the south, in a complex historical process; and how they have thus fused in a richly faceted and complex symbiosis on the pictorial surface of our drum.

90 Ivanov (footnote 40), p. 191.
91 Klements (footnote 1), p. 26.
92 Ivanov (footnote 40), p. 210.
93 ibidem, p. 191.

Catalogus

A Corpus of Trecento Pictures
with Musical Subject Matter, Part II/1, Instalment 4

Howard Mayer Brown

Introduction

This fourth instalment of the Corpus of Trecento Pictures with Musical Subject Matter follows a procedure slightly different from that used in the first three instalments (Imago Musicae, vol. 1, pp. 189–243; vol. 2, pp. 179–281; and vol. 3, pp. 103–187). Since it includes those panel paintings, frescoes, mosaics, and drawings for which no attribution to an artist has yet been made, the individual works of art are listed by the institutions (museum, collection, church, or library) which presently own them. Addenda to Instalments 1–3, that is, works with attributions (including works not very securely attributed to the artist in question), have also been incorporated into the principal list by place. Part II of the Corpus will require two instalments to complete. The present first half (incorporating a cumulative Index of Places) includes works in institutions from Aix-en-Provence to Orvieto; Instalment 5 will continue the Index of Places, listing works in institutions from Osimo to Würzburg, plus »homeless« works (that is, those whose present location is unknown). On the other hand, the present instalment includes cumulative indexes of all the instruments, singing and dancing shown in the trecento pictures catalogued to date, and of their principal subject matter, but a bibliography and Index of Photo Sources are limited to the entries in Instalment 4 (nos. 547–689).

The next instalment will complete the alphabetical listing of institutions owning trecento works of art with musical subject matter, and it will include as well sculpture and minor arts (combined as Part III). Subsequent instalments will list and describe selected manuscript illuminations as Part IV of the Corpus. Nevertheless, the present instalment includes two manuscripts, one in the Biblioteca civica of Bergamo (no. 568) and the other in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York (no. 685). They seemed to me to have a place among the paintings, frescoes, and drawings, since they are both collections of more or less unrelated drawings (they are sketchbooks or model books) rather than illustrations of particular texts (that is, book illustrations).

Art historians have generally been much more concerned than musicologists with questions of attribution. Many of the works of art described and reproduced in Instalment 4 are unattributed because they are the products of provincial artists, or because they have not been much studied by art historians. As a result, the bibliographies are generally shorter than in the earlier instalments, consisting in many cases of a single entry, and I have been unable to find any discussion at all in the art historical literature about a few of the pictures.

In Instalment 4, I have continued to keep the chronological limits of the Corpus flexible. A number of works of art dating from the early fifteenth century appear in the lists. I have been inclined to include works of art that do not fit within the precisely defined chronological limits rather than risk excluding material so closely related in musical subject matter to the trecento paintings that they ought to be consulted by anyone interested in a particular aspect of the subject. There is even one painting in Instalment 4 (no. 669) from quite late in the fifteenth century. By the time I discovered that the Assumption of the Virgin in the church of S. Michele Arcangelo in Murlo (Montepertuso) was attributed to Andrea di Niccolò, whose recorded

activity dates from 1470 to 1512, I had decided to leave the picture in the lists, not merely to avoid leaving one number blank, but also because Andrea's picture relates so directly to the series of paintings showing a circle of angels accompanying the Assumption of the Virgin, an artistic tradition that goes back to the painting by Lippo Memmi now in Munich (Corpus 350).

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for Instalment 4 (nos. 547–689)

d'AnconaACM	P. d'Ancona, ›Gli affreschi del Castello di Manta nel Saluzzese‹, in: L'Arte 8 (1905), pp. 94–106 and 183–198.
AntalFP	Frederick Antal, Florentine Painting and its Social Background (London 1948).
AntonaciA	Antonio Antonaci, Gli affreschi di Galatina (Milano 1966).
ArslanAP	Edoardo Arslan, ›Appunti sulla pittura del primo trecento in Lombardia‹, in: Bollettino d'arte 48 (1963), pp. 221–238.
ArtGS	L'art gothique siennois, enluminure, peinture, orfèvrerie, sculpture, Avignon, Musée du Petit Palais, 26 juin – 2 octobre 1983 (Firenze 1983).
Avignon Cat	Michel Laclotte and Élisabeth Mognetti, Avignon – Musée du Petit Palais. Peinture italienne, Inventaire des collections publiques franc°aises, vol. 21 (Paris 1976).
AvignonMP	Georges de Loÿe, Élisabeth Mognetti, Dominique Thiébaut, and Segolène Bergeon, Avignon: Musée du Petit Palais (Paris 1983).
BaltimoreIS	The Walters Art Gallery Baltimore: The International Style. The Arts in Europe Around 1400. October 23 – December 2, 1962 (Baltimore/Maryland 1962).
BellosiAD	Luciano Bellosi, ›Su alcuni disegni italiani tra la fine del due e la metà del quattrocento‹, in: Bollettino d'arte 30 (1985), pp. 1–42.
BeltingA	Hans Belting, L'arte e il suo pubblico (Bologna 1986).
BerensonCN	Bernard Berenson, Italian Pictures of the Renaissance … Central Italian and North Italian Schools, 3 vols. (London 1968).
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BolognaAR	Ferdinando Bologna, ›Di alcuni rapporti tra Italia e Spagna e »Antonius Magister«‹, in: Arte Antica e Moderna 13/16 (1961), pp. 27–48.
BolognaNG	Ferdinando Bologna, Novità su Giotto. Giotto al tempo della cappella Peruzzi (Torino 1969).
BolognaPCA	Ferdinando Bologna, I pittori alla corte angioina di Napoli, 1266–1414 (Roma 1969).
BolognaPN Cat	La Pinacoteca nazionale di Bologna. Catalogo generale delle opere esposte (Bologna 1987).
BoskovitsCA	Miklòs Boskovits, Miklòs Mojzer, and Andras Mucsi, Christian Art in Hungary. Collections from the Esztergom Christian Museum (Budapest 1965).
BoskovitsDI	Miklòs Boskovits, Dipinti italiani del XIV e XV secolo in una raccolta milanese (Milano 1987).
BoskovitsEIP	Miklòs Boskovits, Early Italian Panel Paintings (Budapest 1966, Corvina Press).
BoskovitsO	Miklòs Boskovits, ›Orcagna in 1357 – and in Other Times‹, in: Burlington Magazine 113 (1971), pp. 239–251.
BoskovitsPF	Miklòs Boskovits, Pittura fiorentina alla vigilia del Rinascimento, 1370–1400 (Firenze 1975).
BoskovitsPU	Miklòs Boskovits, Pittura umbra e marchigiana fra medioevo e Rinascimento. Studi nella Galleria Nazionale di Perugia (Firenze 1973).
BostonMFA Cat	Summary Catalogue of European Paintings in Oil, Tempera and Pastel (Boston 1955, Museum of Fine Arts).
BottariPQ	Stefano Bottari, La pittura del quattrocento in Sicilia (Messina and Firenze 1954).

Brigstocke Edinburgh Cat	Hugh Brigstocke, Italian and Spanish Paintings in the National Gallery of Scotland (Edinburgh 1978).
BrownATA	Howard Mayer Brown, ›Ambivalent Trecento Attitudes Toward Music: An Iconographical View‹, in: Music and Context. Essays for John M. Ward, ed. Anne Dhu Shapiro (Cambridge/Massachusetts 1985), pp. 79–107.
BrownSA	Howard Mayer Brown, ›St. Augustine, Lady Music, and the Gittern in Fourteenth-Century Italy‹, in: Musica Disciplina 38 (1984), pp. 25–65.
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A Corpus of Trecento Pictures with Musical Subject Matter

Part II/1, Instalment 4:
Pictures Without Attribution, Addenda to Instalments 1–3, and Index of
Places, Aix-en-Provence to Orvieto (nos. 1–689)

547. **Aix-en-Provence**, Musée Granet, no. 820-I-IIbis
Nativity, panel painting
Siena (entourage of Simone Martini?), ca. 1340
A shepherd plays a shawm.
Photo: Museum
Bibl.: ArtGS, pp. 184–186 (as Maître des panneaux d'Aix); BerensonCN, 1:404 (as Avignonese follower of Simone Martini); van Marle, 2:307 (fig. 203); MeissPI, p. 143 (fig. 5)

Ajaccio (Corsica), Musée Palais Fesch 327

548. **Albizzate** (Varese), Oratorio
Feast of Herod, fresco
Lombardy, end of the 14th century
Salome dances. On the right, a man accompanies her on the lute.
Photo: MatalonAT
Bibl.: MatalonAT, no. 1, pp. 11f. (fig. 46); PIDT, 1:79

549. **Altenburg**, Staatliches Lindenau-Kunstmuseum, no. 69
Virgin and Child with saints and angels, panel painting, ca. 1415–1420
Florence, follower of Niccolò di Pietro Gerini (active from 1368, died 1414/15)
Two angels beneath the central figures play portative organ and bagpipe. Two angels to the left play fiddle and lute. Two angels to the right sing (?) and play psaltery.
Photo: Museum
Bibl.: Oertel Altenburg Cat, pp. 129f. (pl. 47b)

550. **Altenburg**, Staatliches Lindenau-Kunstmuseum, no. 71
The Assumption of the Virgin, predella panel attributed to Sano di Pietro, Siena (1406–1481)
Nine angels appear on each side of the Virgin. In the front row left, three angels play psaltery, fiddle, and lute. In the front row right, three angels play shawms. Some of the angels in the second row on both sides may be singing.
Photo: Museum
Bibl.: BerensonCN, 1:373; Oertel Altenburg Cat, p. 99 (fig. 19)

Altenburg, Staatliches Lindenau-Kunstmuseum. See also Corpus 101, 159, 160, 442

Amsterdam, Douwes Collection 375

551.a formerly **Amsterdam**, Lanz Collection
Coronation of the Virgin, panel painting
Marches, late 14th or early 15th centuries
Four angels play harp, portative organ, lute, and psaltery.
Photo: Florence, Fototeca Berenson
Bibl.: Florence, Fototeca Berenson; not mentioned in OsLC

Antella (near Florence), Oratorio di S. Caterina 481

Arcetri, Convent of St. Matthew 252

Arezzo, Museo comunale 24, 475, 476

551.b **Arezzo**, S. Domenico
Angel musicians, detached fresco
attributed to Parri Spinelli, Arezzo (ca. 1387–1453)
Two angels on the left play bowed gittern and harp; two angels on the right play portative organ and fiddle. Compare these with Corpus 475, 476, and 477.
Photo: DonatiNA
Bibl.: DonatiNA, pp. 15–23 (pl. 4)

Arezzo, S. Domenico. See also Corpus 477

547.
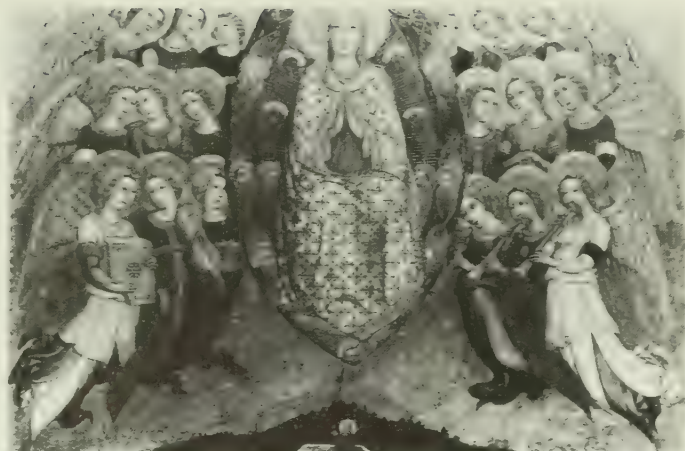
550.

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551. a

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551. b

552. **Arezzo**, S. Francesco
Angels and Saints, fragment of a fresco probably from an Assumption
attributed both to Giovanni di Marco dal Ponte, Florence (1385–ca. 1437) and to Giovanni d'Agnolo
Angels play double recorder, tambourine, and lute; originally, there were more.
Photo: Arezzo, Soprintendenza per i beni ambientali architettonici, artistici e storici
Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:166 (as in Duomo Vecchio, by Parri Spinelli?); see SalmiCI

553. **Arezzo**, S. Francesco
Last Judgment, fresco
attributed to Parri Spinelli, Arezzo (ca. 1387–1453)
Two angels play trumpets.
Photo: private source
Bibl.: DonatiNA, p. 23

554. **Assisi**, Oratorio di S. Leonardo (detto di S. Francescuccio)
Virgin and Christ in Glory, fresco
Umbria, 15th century
Angels play fiddle, bagpipe, and harp (on left), and tambourine, nakers, and lute (on the left).
Photo: Alinari 20037
Bibl.: ZoccaA, pp. 211f. (ill. on p. 212)

555. **Assisi**, S. Chiara
Death of S. Chiara, fresco
Umbria, 1300–1310
At least three monks sing.
Photo: Alinari 40374
Bibl.: della PortaIMU, no. 32, pp. 103f. (pl. 32); van Marle, 3:266; ZoccaA, pp. 192f.

556. **Assisi**, S. Chiara
Funeral of S. Chiara, fresco
Umbria, 1300–1310
At least one monk sings.
Photo: Alinari 40373
Bibl.: della PortaIMU, no. 33, pp. 105f. (pl. 33); van Marle, 3:266; ZoccaA, pp. 192f.

557. **Assisi**, S. Chiara
Last Judgment, fresco
Umbria, late 13th or early 14th centuries
Three angels play trumpets; there was probably originally a fourth.
Photo: della PortaIMU
Bibl.: della PortaIMU, no. 12, pp. 59f. (pl. 12); ZoccaA, p. 192 (ill., as follower of Giotto)

Assisi, S. Francesco 13, 83, 84, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 261, 291, 292, 293

Assisi, S. Maria degli Angeli 225

552.
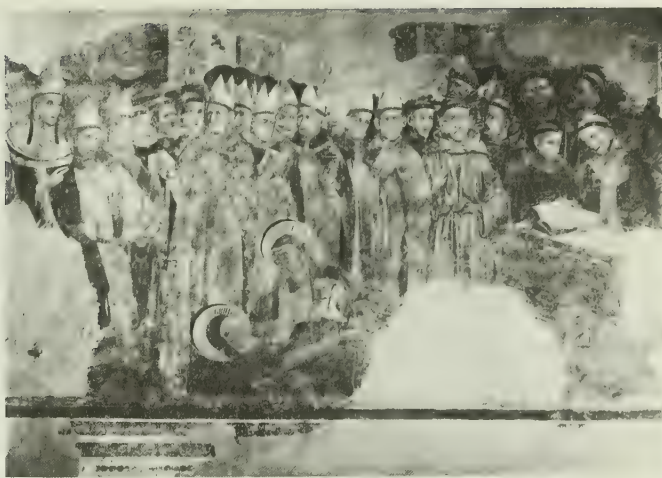
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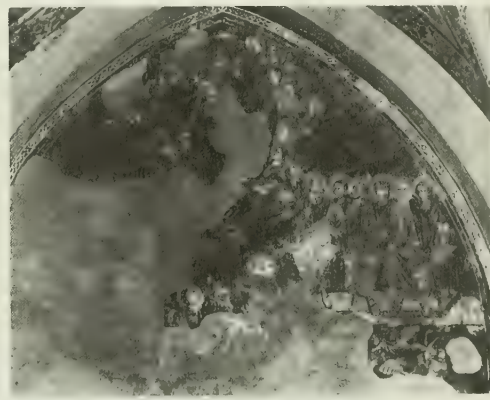
557.

558. **Assisi**, Monastero di S. Quirico
Virgin and Child with saints and angels, fresco
Umbria, early 15th century
On the left, two angels play triangle and fiddle; on the right, two angels play tambourine and fiddle.
Photo: Alinari 20038
Bibl.: ZoccaA, p. 241

Auxerre, Musée 396

559. **Avignon**, Musée du Petit Palais, MI 366 (formerly in Laon)
Funeral of St. Francis, panel painting
attributed to Bicci di Lorenzo, Florence (1373–1452)
Two bells hang in tower.
Photo: Avignon, M. Daspet
Bibl.: Avignon Cat, no. 34 (fig. 34); BerensonF, 1:30 (as in Laon)

560. **Avignon**, Musée du Petit Palais, MI 412 (formerly in Châteauroux)
Virgin and Child with saints and angels, panel painting
attributed to Mariotto di Nardo, Florence (died 1424)
Three angels play portative organ, lute, and fanciful fiddle.
Photo: Avignon, M. Daspet
Bibl.: Avignon Cat, no. 169 (fig. 169); BoskovitsPF, p. 399

561. **Avignon**, Musée du Petit Palais, MI 422 (formerly in Moulins)
Crucifixion, panel painting, ca. 1330
attributed to Pseudo Jacopino di Francesco, Bologna (active ca. 1330–1350)
Two men play trumpets.
Photo: Avignon, M. Daspet
Bibl.: Avignon Cat, no. 101 (fig. 101); AvignonMP, pp. 30f. (ill.); PIDT, 1:215 (fig. 329)

562. **Avignon**, Musée du Petit Palais, inv. no. 20267 (formerly in Béziers)
Adoration of the Shepherds, panel painting
attributed to Bartolo di Fredi, Siena (active by 1353, died 1410)
In the upper right, a shepherd holds a bagpipe.
Photo: Avignon, M. Daspet
Bibl.: Avignon Cat, no. 22 (fig. 22)

563. **Avignon**, Musée du Petit Palais (formerly in Grenoble), MI 476–77
Virgin and Child, central panel of a triptych (the Rinieri Altarpiece)
attributed to Francesco d'Antonio, Florence (active between 1393 and 1433)
Two angels play lute and portative organ.
Photo: Avignon, M. Daspet
Bibl.: Avignon Cat, no. 69 (fig. 69); AvignonMP, pp. 56f. (ill.)

Avignon, Musée du Petit Palais. See also Corpus 337, 446 (Corpus 317, 337, 396, and 446, listed as in Paris, Musées nationaux, Campana Collection, are now also in Avignon; see Avignon Cat, nos. 103, 161, 152, and 208)

558.

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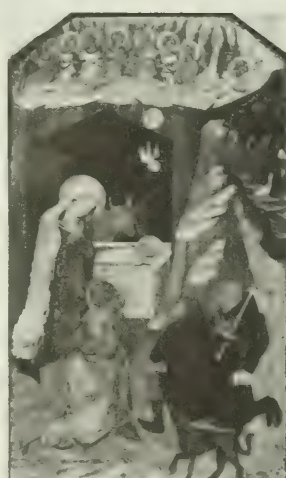
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564. **Avio**, Castello
Battle scenes, fresco
Trentino or Verona, ca. 1300–1320
Mounted soldiers play two trumpets and nakers.
Photo: MorassiSP
Bibl.: MorassiSP, pp. 229–234 (fig. 137)

565.a **Bagno a Ripoli**, Pieve di S. Piero a Ripoli
Pieta (Crucifixion with instruments of the Passion), damaged fresco, ca. 1380
attributed to Pietro Nelli, Florence (active from at least 1375, died 1419)
On the left, a man plays a horn.
Photo: Alinari 60880
Bibl.: BoskovitsPF, p. 418

Balcarres (Fife, Scotland), Earl of Crawford and Balcarres Collection 342

Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery 58, 230, 338, 387

565.b **Beffi**, Chiesa parrocchiale
Nativity, left panel of a triptych, ca. 1416–1420
Abruzzi, 15th century
In the background, a shepherd holds a bagpipe.
Photo: ChiericiA
Bibl.: ChiericiA, pp. 118–124 (fig. 42)

566. formerly **Bellpuig**, parochial church (destroyed in 1934)
Coronation of the Virgin
attributed to Maestro Antonio, Marches (second half of the 14th century)
In the foreground, two angels stand before the principal figures. The angel on the right plays a harp; in the poor reproduction available, no instrument is visible in the hands of the angel on the left.
Photo: BolognaAR
Bibl.: BolognaAR, pp. 27–48 (fig. 9a)

Belverde, Oratorio della B. Vergine 435

567. **Belverde**, Oratorio della Maddalena
Assumption of Mary Magdalene, fresco
attributed to Andrea di Giovanni da Orvieto (active 1387–1417)
Two angels play fiddle and lute.
Photo: CarliAB
Bibl.: CarliAB, passim (pl. 70); PIDT, 2:411

Bergamo, Accademia Carrara 333
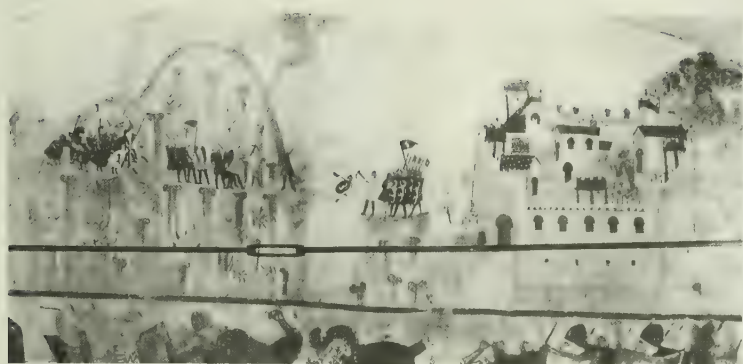
564.

565.

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566.

568 a–f. **Bergamo**, Biblioteca civica, Cod. Delta, VII, 14
Sketchbook, drawings
Giovannino de'Grassi (active in Milan in the last quarter of the 14th century, died 1398)

a. fol. 3': a lady plays the harp; her companion may sing.

b. fol. 5': three or more of a group of five men sing from a roll of notated music.

c. fol. 29: a lady plays the harp.

d. fol. 29': in the letter J, a man plays nakers.

e. fol. 30: in the letter M, men play fiddle, portative organ, and horn.

f. fol. 30': in the letter X, men play fiddle, psaltery, clapper bell, and gittern.

Photo: Bergamo, Foto Wells
Bibl.: BesselerBC, pl. 3; GrassiTD; KommaM, p. 59 (figs. 138 and 139); van Marle 7:91 (figs. 51–53); MilanAL, pl. 43; SchellerSM, pp. 142–154 (figs. 107 and 109); ToescaTS, p. 22

Berlin, van Diemen-Lilienfeld Gallery 408

568. a
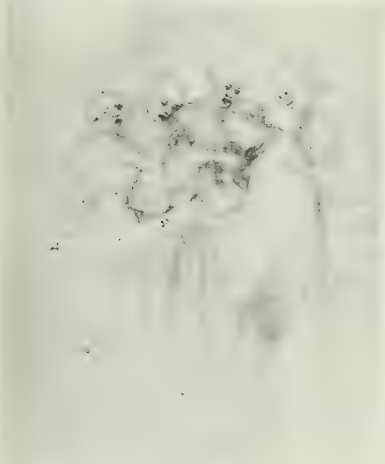
568. b

568. c

568. d
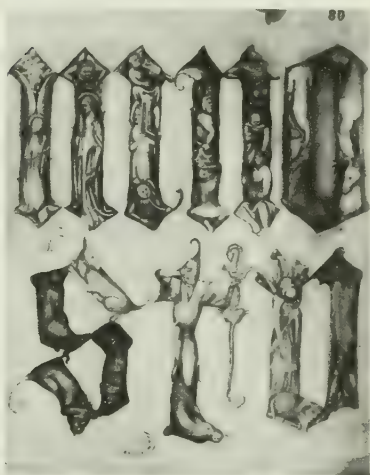
568. e

568. f

569. formerly **Berlin**, Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum
Last Judgment, panel of a polyptych showing
scenes from the life of Christ
Rimini, early 14th century
Two angels play trumpets.
Photo: ColettiP
Bibl.: ColettiP, vol. III, p. xvii (fig. 35)

Berlin, Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum. See also
Corpus 339

Berlin, Kaufmann Collection 287

Berlin (BRD), Kupferstichkabinett 478

Berlin (BRD), Staatliche Museen Preußischer
Kulturbesitz 59, 102, 118, 217, 231, 232, 262

570. **Berlin** (DDR), Staatliche Museen (Bodemu-
seum), no. III/52
Coronation of the Virgin with saints and
angels, panel painting
Florence or Siena, ca. 1390–1395
Before the throne, four angels play portative
organ, fanciful fiddle (or bowed gittern),
fiddle, and rebec (a gamba). In the center
foreground, five angels dance in a line.
Photo: Museum
Bibl.: BoskovitsPF, p. 360 (fig. 428; as Master
of the Madonna of 1399)

Berlin (DDR), Staatliche Museen (Bodemu-
seum). See also Corpus 127, 451

Bern, Kunstmuseum 138, 233

Béziers, Musée 562

Birmingham, The Barber Institute of Fine
Arts 37

Birmingham (Alabama), Museum of Art 334

571. **Bologna**, Pinacoteca nazionale
Virgin and Child with saints, triptych
Bologna, second half of the 14th century
In the side panels, two angels play portative
organ and fiddle, one on either side.
Photo: Bologna, Archivio fotografico A. Vil-
lani
Bibl.: BolognaPN Cat, p. 36 (no. 54); Vava-
làVM, pp. 450–452 (fig. 4, as Simone dei
Crocifissi); Foto Croci 3053 (as Vitale da
Bologna)

Bologna, Pinacoteca nazionale. See also Cor-
pus 192, 228, 229, 255, 343, 544

Bologna, S. Apollonia di Mezzaratta 255

572. **Bologna**, S. Giacomo
Virgin and Child enthroned with angels,
fresco
Giovanni di Ottonello, Bologna (late 14th
century)
Eight angels play four shawms, two rebecs,
lute, and harp. Other angels may also play
instruments.
Photo: PIDT
Bibl.: PIDT, 1:232 (fig. 354)

Bologna, S. Petronio 254

573. **Bolzano**, Dominican Church, St. John
Chapel
Bridal procession of the Virgin, fresco
Tyrol, ca. 1330–1350
Four angels hover over the Virgin's wedding
procession, playing psaltery, gittern, double
recorder, and fiddle. The procession is led by
two musicians playing fiddles.
Photo: Bolzano, Soprintendenza provinciale
beni culturali
Bibl.: PallucchiniPV, p. 101 (pl. 307); PIDT,
1:112 (fig. 172); RasmoAM, pp. 130f. and
242f. (fig. 151); ServoliniPG, p. 100 (pl. 57)

574. formerly **Bolzano**, Dominican Church (de-
stroyed, 1939–1945)
St. Paul talks to a centaur, fresco, 1350s
Tyrol, possibly by Guariento di Arpo, Padua
(ca. 1310 – before 1370) and Nicoletto Se-
mitecolo, Venice (documented 1353–1370)
St. Paul holds a clapper bell.
Photo: RasmoAM
Bibl.: RasmoAM, pp. 243f. (fig. 179)
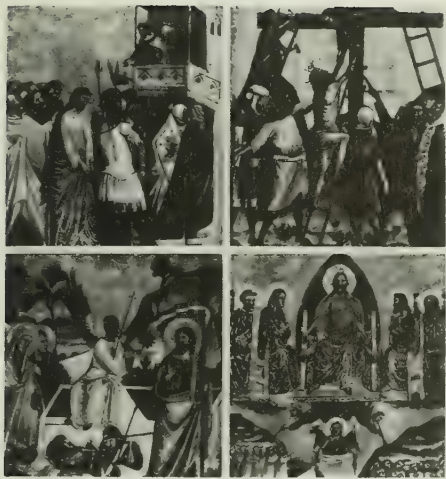
569.
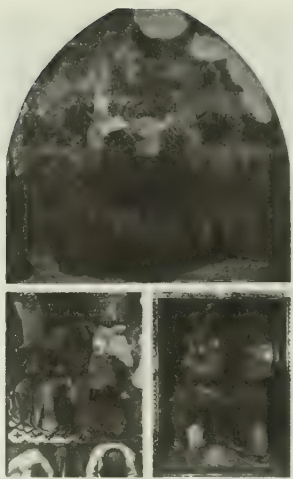
572.

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575. **Bolzano**, Residenza Niederhaus, now Thun ad Aslago
Courtly scene, fresco (badly damaged)
Tyrol
At least four couples dance. If instrumentalists once accompanied them, the part of the fresco showing them has been destroyed.
Photo: RasmoAM
Bibl.: RasmoAM, p. 246 (fig. 218)

576. **Bolzano**, S. Martino a Campill
Adoration of the Magi, fresco
Tyrol, dated 1403
A shepherd holds a bagpipe.
Photo: RasmoAM
Bibl.: RasmoAM, p. 246 (fig. 222)

Bonn, Provinzial Museum 232

Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum 149, 294

577. **Boston**, Museum of Fine Arts, no. 38.1840
(The Zoe Oliver Sherman Collection. Gift of Zoe Oliver Sherman in memory of Henry H. Sherman)
The Mystic Marriage of Christ and the Virgin, pinnacle of a diptych (with the Virgin and Child and the Crucifixion as the principal panels)
Florence
Four angels play trumpets.
Photo: Museum
Bibl.: BostonMFA Cat, p. 23; MeissPF, p. 109 (pl. 99)

Boston Museum of Fine Arts. See also Corpus 41, 260

Bremen, Kunsthalle 234

578. **Bressanone**, Cathedral Cloister
Adoration of the Magi, fresco
Tyrol, ca. 1417
In the background, the annunciation to the shepherds; one of the shepherds plays a bagpipe.
Photo: New York, Frick Art Reference Library 15462
Bibl.: van Marle, 7:254–257 (fig. 167); RasmoAM, p. 247 (fig. 235)

579. **Bressanone**, Cathedral Cloister
Coronation of the Virgin, fresco
Tyrol, early 15th century
In the background, two angels play trumpets. In the foreground, two angels play lute and harp.
Photo: New York, Frick Art Reference Library 15463
Bibl.: van Marle, 7:254–257; RasmoAM, p. 247

Brussels, Duchange sale 311

Budapest, Bedő Collection 391

Budapest, Kartschmaroff Collection 335

580. **Budapest**, Museum of Fine Arts, no. 5
St. Anthony Abbot, bicchierna
Siena, 1404
St. Anthony wears a bell.
Photo: Museum
Bibl.: Budapest Cat, p. 642

575.

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576.
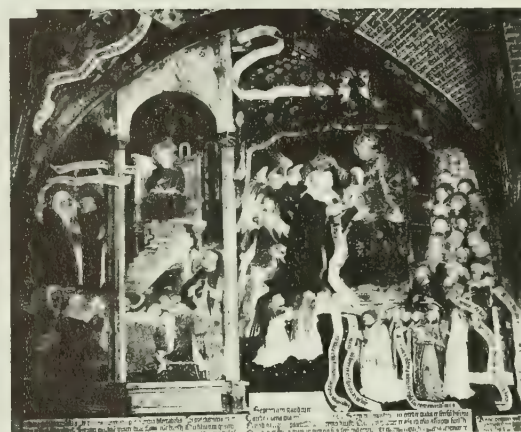
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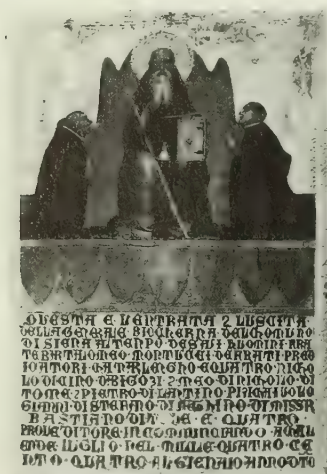
580.

581. **Budapest**, Museum of Fine Arts, no. 7
Scenes from the lives of the hermits, panel
painting
attributed to Lorenzo Monaco, Florence (ca.
1370 – ca. 1425)
At the funeral of a hermit saint, at least three,
and possibly four, monks sing (or speak?)
from a book.
Photo: Museum
Bibl.: Budapest Cat, pp. 392–394

582. **Budapest**, Museum of Fine Arts, no. 1036
Virgin and Child with saints and angels,
central panel of a triptych (Haromreszes
altar)
Tuscany, ca. 1426
Two angels play rebec held upright and
fiddle.
Photo: Museum
Bibl.: BrunettiAC, p. 241 (fig. 8, as Master of
the Bracciolini Chapel); Budapest Cat, p. 705

Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts. See also
Corpus 142, 235, 238, 297, 459

Budapest, Newes Collection 249

583. formerly **Budapest**, Zichy Collection
Coronation of the Virgin, panel painting
Florence, ca. 1370
Angels play fiddle and psaltery.
Photo: GombosiB
Bibl.: GombosiB, p. 322 (fig. 1); van Marle
3:517

584. **Buttigliera Alta** (near Torino), Abbazia di S.
Antonio di Ranverso
Christ carrying the cross to Calvary, fresco
Northern Italy
On the right, one man plays a horn and two
men play trumpets.
Photo: Alinari 52660
Bibl.: none

585 a–b. **Calliano**, Castel Pietra
Courtly musicians, fresco
Venezia Tridentino
A man plays a lute in one panel (a), and a
woman plays a harp on another panel (b). A
third panel (no ill.) depicts a bagpipe player.
Photo: MorassiSP
Bibl.: MorassiSP, pp. 334–342 (figs. 223 and
224)

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum 150, 196,
285

Cambridge, Girton College 126
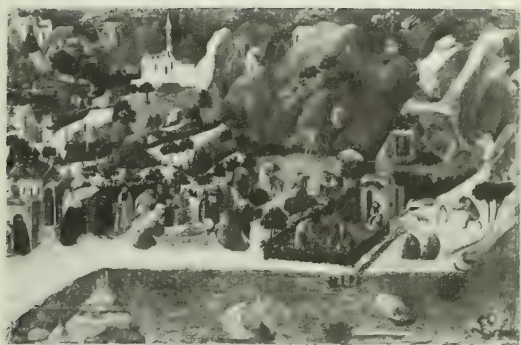
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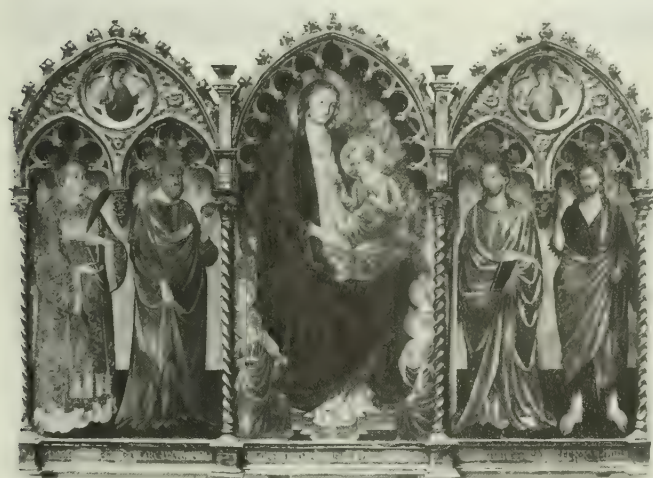
582.
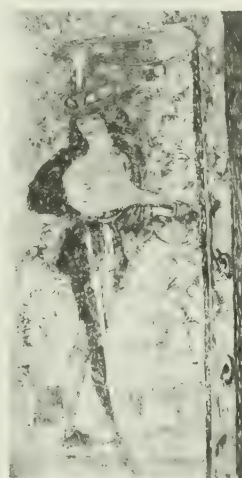
585. a

583.

585. b

586. **Cambridge** (Massachusetts), Fogg Art Museum, no. 1937.4.9
Christ as a Man of Sorrow, panel painting, ca. 1355
Roberto d'Oderisio, Naples (active from the 1330s to the 1380s)
Among the symbols of the Passion, one man blows a horn.
Photo: Museum
Bibl.: BeltingA, pp. 69–72 and 264 (ill. on p. 71); BolognaPCA, pp. 301–303 (pl. VII, 30); PIDT, 2:493 (fig. 761)

Cambridge (Massachusetts), Fogg Art Museum. See also Corpus 344, 345, 381, 482, 509

Camerino, Monastero di S. Chiara 86

587. **Campi** (near Norcia), S. Salvatore
Crucifixion, fresco
Umbria, early 15th century
Two mounted men play trumpets.
Photo: Rome, Max Hutzel
Bibl.: GnoliPM, p. 324 (as Giovanni and Antonio Sparapane)

588. **Campiglio** (near Bolzano), S. Martino
God the Father and saints, fresco
Alto Adige, early 15th century
Two angels play harp or harp-psaltery and portative organ.
Photo: MorassiSP
Bibl.: MorassiSP, pp. 405f. (fig. 256)

Campione, Sanctuario della Madonna dei Ghirli 543

589. **Caneve d'Arco**, S. Rocco
Musical putto, fragment of a fresco
Trento, early 15th century
A winged putto plays a positive organ.
Photo: LunelliMT
Bibl.: LunelliMT, p. 19

590. **Cascina** (near Pisa), Oratorio di San Giovanni Battista
Annunciation with saints, polyptych, 1360s
attributed to Luca di Tommè, Siena (active between 1356 and 1399)
Along the top of the polyptych, thirteen individual panels each show an angel, many of whom appear to be singing.
Photo: FehmLT (detail with five angels)
Bibl.: BerensonCN, 1:224; FehmLT, pp. 142–144 (pl. 47); PIDT, 1:353 (fig. 541)

591. **Casole d'Elsa**, Collegiata
Last Judgment, fragment of a fresco
attributed to Jacopo di Mino del Pelicciaio, Siena (active from 1344–1389), and helpers
Two angels play trumpets.
Photo: CarliDS
Bibl.: BerensonCN, 1:322; CarliDS, pp. 93–96 (pl. 43)

586.
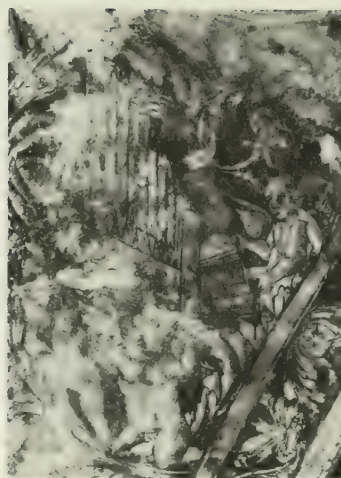
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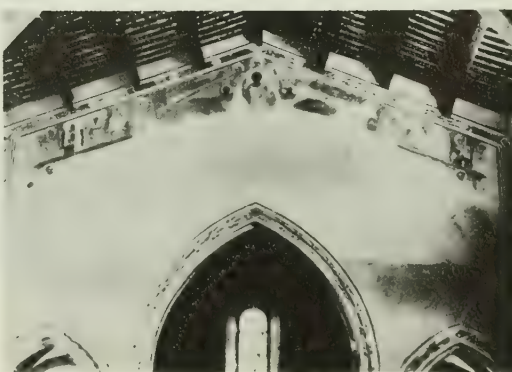
591.

592. **Castell'Arquato** (near Piacenza), Collegiata
Coronation of the Virgin, fresco
Bologna, early 15th century
Eight angels play two trumpets, two shawms, two harps, and two rebecs (or one fiddle and one rebec).
Photo: New York, Frick Art Reference Library, no. 24113
Bibl.: none

593. **Castello della Manta** (Piemont), Salone
Il Ritorno dalla Fontane della vita e due cavalieri, fresco
Verona, early 15th century
Four mounted musicians play one trumpet and three shawms.
Photo: Alinari 31535
Bibl.: d'AnconaACM

594. **Castelroncolo** (Schloß Runkelstein near Bolzano), Sala del torneo
Joust, fresco
Alto Adige, 1385–1395
Two men play trumpets.
Photo: MorassiSP
Bibl.: MorassiSP, pp. 295–306 (fig. 180); RasmoAM, p. 246; RasmoWM, pp. 41–48 (fig. 36)

595. **Castelroncolo** (Schloß Runkelstein near Bolzano), Sala del torneo
Dance, fresco
Alto Adige, 1385–1395
Four couples dance in a row, accompanied by two men playing lute (or gittern) and fiddle.
Photo: Foto Frasnelli, Bolzano (detail of instrumentalists)
Bibl.: BrownSA, pl. 15; KommaM, p. 66 (fig. 153); MorassiSP, pp. 295–306 (fig. 180); RasmoWM, pp. 41–48 (fig. 36)

596. **Castelroncolo** (Schloß Runkelstein near Bolzano), Sala del torneo
Hunting scene, fresco
Alto Adige, 1385–1395
One man plays a hunting horn.
Photo: RasmoWM
Bibl.: MorassiSP, pp. 295–306; RasmoWM, pp. 41–48 (pl. 23)

597. **Castelroncolo** (Schloß Runkelstein near Bolzano), Sala delle coppie
Joust, fresco
Alto Adige, 1385–1395
Four men play trumpets.
Photo: RasmoWM
Bibl.: MorassiSP, pp. 295–306; RasmoWM, pp. 41–48 (fig. 34)

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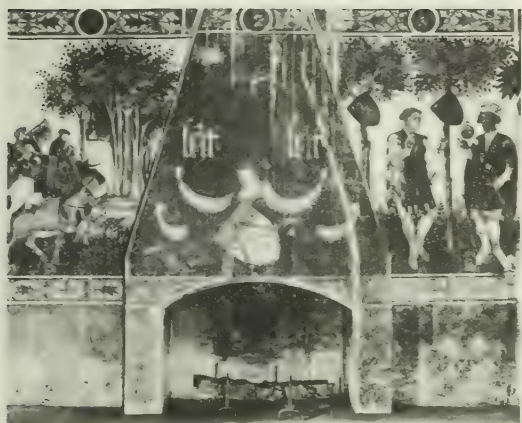
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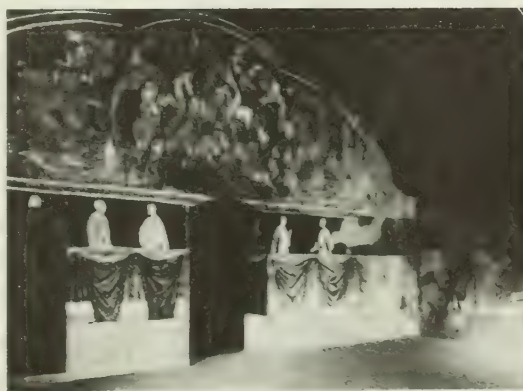
597.

598. **Castelroncolo** (Schloß Runkelstein near Bolzano)
Dance scene, fresco
Alto Adige, 1385–1395
One man plays lute.
Photo: none available
Bibl.: MorassiSP, p. 300; RasmoWM, p. 47

599. **Castiglion Fiorentino**, S. Francesco
Virgin and Child with two saints, fresco
Arezzo
St. Anthony Abbot holds a clapper bell.
Photo: New York, Frick Art Reference Library 22888
Bibl.: none

600. **Castiglione d'Olona**, Collegiata
Assumption of the Virgin, fresco
Masolino da Panicale, Florence (1384–1435)
Some angels sing (and angels may also sing at the Coronation of the Virgin in the same series of frescoes).
Photo: MichelettiM
Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:136; MichelettiM, p. 54 (pl. 57)

Chantilly, Musée Condé 197

Châteauroux, Musée 560

Chianciano, Collegiata di S. Giovanni Battista 56

601. **Chiaravalle Milanese**, Abbey
Funeral of the Virgin, fresco
Lombardy, mid-14th century
Behind the bier, at least two monks (?) sing from a book. Above the bier, some of the six angels seem to be singing.
Photo: MatalonAT
Bibl.: ArslanAP, p. 230 (figs. 12 and 17); MatalonAT, pp. 21f. (figs. 21 and 22); PIDT, 1:77 (fig. 107)

602. **Cleveland** Museum of Art, no. 61.38 (Purchase from the J. H. Wade Fund)
Navicella, drawing of a mosaic by Giotto (see Corpus 181 and 680)
Parri Spinelli, Arezzo (ca. 1387–1453)
Two wind gods blow horns.
Photo: Museum
Bibl.: BaltimoreIS, pp. 34f. (pl. XXXV); ClevelandGA, p. 213 (ill. on p. 182)

603. **Cleveland** Museum of Art, no. 16.801
Tournament in the Piazza S. Croce, Florence, cassone front, ca. 1417
attributed to Giovanni di Francesco Toscani, Florence (ca. 1370–1430)
Three men play trumpets and one a bagpipe.
Photo: Museum
Bibl.: Cleveland Cat, pp. 127–129 (fig. 45, and fig. 45b showing a lost drawing of the picture); ClevelandGA, p. 211f. (ill. on p. 183)

Colle di Val d'Elsa, S. Francesco 463

Cologne, Ramboux Collection 122, 260

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599.
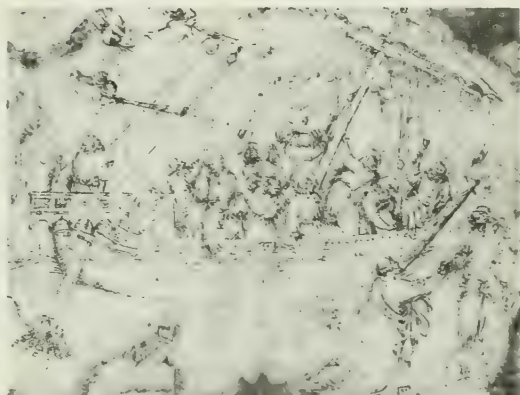
602.

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604. **Como**, Museo civico
Virgin and Child with saints and angels,
detached fresco
early 14th century
Two angels play fiddle and lute.
Photo: Alinari 39478
Bibl.: none

Coral Gables (Florida), Joe and Emily Lowe
Art Gallery, University of Miami 303

Cortona, Museo dell'Accademia Etrusca 321

Cortona, S. Domenico 274

Cracow, National Museum 279

605. **Cremona**, S. Lucia
Musical angels, fresco
Lombardy
Among the angels, three play shawm, porta-
tive organ, and fiddle. Toesca reproduces
only these three, but there may be more.
Photo: ToescaPML
Bibl.: van Marle, 7:183; ToescaPML, pp.
513 f. (fig. 415)

Crespina (Pisa), S. Michele Arcangelo 91

Denver, Art Museum 193

Detroit Institute of Art 404

Dublin, National Gallery of Ireland 190

606. **Edinburgh**, National Gallery of Scotland,
no. 1958
Virgin and Child with saints and angels,
central panel of a triptych
Tuscany, mid-14th century
Two angels play harp and lute.
Photo: Museum
Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:103 (as Jacopo di Cione);
BoskovitsO, p. 248 (fig. 21, as Orcagna);
Brigstocke Edinburgh Cat, pp. 175 f. (as
Tuscan mid-14th century)

Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland.
See also Corpus 103

Eindhoven, Philips-de Jong Collection 117

Esztergom, Ipolyi Collection 122

607. **Esztergom**, Keresztény Múzeum, no. 55.137
(formerly Esztergom, Ipolyi Collection)
Adoration of the Magi, panel painting
Venice, second half of the 14th century
In the lower left corner, a shepherd plays a
bagpipe.
Photo: Museum
Bibl.: BoskovitsCA, pl. II/34; BoskovitsEIP,
nos. 46 and 47 (pls. 46 and 47)

Esztergom, Keresztény Múzeum. See also
Corpus 122, 431

Fabriano, S. Lucia (S. Domenico) 405

Fano, S. Domenico 365

608. **Feltre**, Santuario dei SS. Vittore e Corona
Last Judgment, fresco
Tuscany, early 14th century
One angel plays a trumpet.
Photo: PIDT
Bibl.: d'ArcaisAT, p. 62 (fig. 66); PIDT,
1:131 (fig. 207)

604.

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606.

607.

608.

609 a–c. **Feltre**, Santuario dei SS. Vittore e Co-
rona
Triumphal arch with fathers of the church
and saints, fresco
Treviso, mid-14th century
Of the nine angels in the arch, at least four
play (a) tambourine, trumpet, (b) portative
organ, and (c) gittern; others (not reproduced
in GibbsOT) may also play instruments.
Photo: GibbsOT (a, b, and c)
Bibl.: d'ArcaisAT, pp. 66f. (figs. 76 and 80);
GibbsOT, p. 107 (figs. 107–109)

610. **Fermo**, Pinacoteca (Palazzo comunale)
Coronation of the Virgin, panel painting
attributed to Master of Sant'Elsino, Bologna
(second half of the 14th century)
Nine angels play two shawms, tambourine,
two fiddles, lute, gittern, psaltery, and por-
tative organ.
Photo: PallucchiniPV
Bibl.: DaniaPF, pp. 41f. (pl. XII); Pallucchi-
niPV, pp. 205f. (fig. 636)

611. **Fermo**, S. Agostino
Nativity, fresco
Marches, late 14th century
On the right, a shepherd plays a shawm.
Photo: DaniaPF
Bibl.: DaniaPF, pp. 51f. (pl. VIII)

Fermo, S. Michele Arcangelo 226

612. **Ferrara**, Palazzo Paradiso
Unidentified courtly or mythological scenes,
fragment of a fresco
Ferrara, after 1391
In galleries above the principal scenes (now
partly destroyed), one lady plays a portative
organ, and another a gittern.
Photo: none available
Bibl.: VareseTF, color pls. 22 and 38; PIDT,
1:225f.

609. a

610.

609. b

611.

613. **Ferrara**, Pinacoteca nazionale
Unidentified subject, fragment of a fresco
Ferrara
A saint or angel plays a lute.
Photo: New York, Frick Art Reference Library 23891
Bibl.: none

614. **Ferrara**, Pinacoteca nazionale (from the Collezione Vendeghini-Baldi)
Saint Anthony Abbot
attributed to Andrea da Bologna, Bolognese who worked in the Marches (active between 1368–1372)
Saint Anthony holds a bell.
Photo: none available
Bibl.: none

Ferrara, Pinacoteca nazionale. See also Corpus 472

Ferrara, S. Andrea 472

Fiesole, Cathedral 182

615. **Fiesole**, Seminario
Coronation of the Virgin with saints and angels, fresco
Florence, early 15th century (heavily restored)
Four angels play fiddle, portative organ, harp, and cymbals. David plays psaltery.
Photo: Alinari (Brogi 7765)
Bibl.: van Marle, 9:255

616. **Florence**, Accademia, no. 8613
Wedding of the Virgin, predella panel
Mariotto di Nardo, Florence (documented from 1394, died 1424)
In back of the central figures, two men play trumpets. On the right, a woman plays a psaltery.
Photo: SirénAP
Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:130; BoskovitsPF, p. 393; van Marle, 9:214; SirénAP, p. 195 (ill.)

Florence, Accademia. See also Corpus 104, 105, 183, 198, 236, 252, 275, 388, 409, 419, 440, 450

Florence, Acton Collection 92, 305, 312, 330

617. **Florence**, Baptistery
Feast of Herod, mosaic, 1342–1354
circle of Giotto, Florence
Salome dances, while a man accompanies her on the fiddle.
Photo: WittM
Bibl.: LonghiGD, p. 15 (pl. 40, attributed to »Penultimo Maestro del Battistero«); van Marle, 1:258–268; RagghiantiP, pp. 29–34 (fig. 56); WittM, vol. 1, pl. XII

618. **Florence**, Baptistery
Last Judgment, mosaic, 1270–1300
circle of Giotto, Florence
Two angels play trumpets.
Photo: WittM
Bibl.: van Marle, 1:258–268 (fig. 126); WittM, vol. 3, pls. I, III, IV, and XXVIII

613.
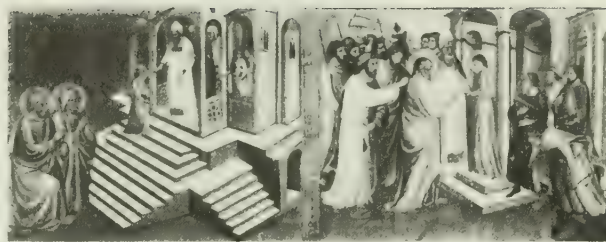
616.

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619. **Florence**, Baptistery
Hell, mosaic, 1270–1300
circle of Giotto, Florence
One devil plays a horn.
Photo: WittM
Bibl.: van Marle, 1:258–268; WittM, vol. 3, pls. XXVIII and XXXIX

620. **Florence**, Bargello, Carrand Collection, no. 20009
Coronation of the Virgin, panel painting
Florence, second half of the 14th century
Six angels play two trumpets, psaltery, portative organ, fiddle, and bagpipe.
Photo: none available
Bibl.: BoskovitsPF, p. 212 (as Master of the Christ Church Coronation); Offner Suppl, p. 58 (as Metropolitan Master of 1394)

621. **Florence**, Bargello, Cappella del Podestà
Feast of Herod, fresco, 1337
follower of Giotto, Florence
Salome dances while a musician plays a fiddle.
Photo: TintoriG
Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:82; BoskovitsPF, pp. 13, 21, and 194; van Marle, 3:224; PrevitaliG, p. 339 (fig. 399); TintoriG, p. 44 (fig. 30)

Florence, Bellini Collection 75, 306

622 a–b. **Florence**, Cathedral
Coronation of the Virgin, mosaic, after 1296
Gaddo di Zanobi Gaddi, Florence (active ca. 1308–1330)
Five angels play two trumpets, two horns, and cymbals.
Photo: RagghiantiP
Bibl.: van Marle, 1:272f. (fig. 133); RagghiantiP, pp. 11f. (figs. 15 and 16)

Florence, Gallerie fiorentine 24, 76

Florence, Museo Bardini 239

623. **Florence**, Museo del Bigallo
Episode from the life of S. Tobias, fresco
Florence, early 15th century
Procession with two trumpets.
Photo: Alinari (Brogi 14836)
Bibl.: none

Florence, Museo Stibbert 240, 336

Florence, Oratorio del Bigallo 364

Florence, Palazzo dell'Arte della Lana 300

Florence, Palazzo Pitti 184

Florence, Panciatichi Collection 359

Florence, Porta S. Niccolo 483

619.

622. a

622. b

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624. **Florence**, formerly in a private collection
The Capture of Christ, panel painting
Perugia
On the left, one man plays a horn.
Photo: LonghiGD
Bibl.: LonghiGD, pp. 157f. (pl. 208, as Primo miniatore di Perugia)

Florence, private collection. See also Corpus 331

Florence, S. Croce 128, 139, 140, 141, 170, 171, 172, 276, 298, 299, 318, 319, 376, 389

Florence (environs of), S. Donato in Polverosa 320

Florence, S. Felicità 143

Florence, S. Giovannino dei Cavalieri 60

Florence, S. Maria del Carmine 264

Florence, S. Maria Maggiore 409

625. **Florence**, S. Maria Novella, Cappella Bardi
King David, fragment of a fresco devoted to the life of St. Gregory
Florence, before 1349
David plays a psaltery.
Photo: Alinari (Brogi 22117)
Bibl.: BoskovitsPF, p. 205; PIDT, 1:219f.

Florence, S. Maria Novella. See also Corpus 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 362, 363, 410, 411, 484

626. **Florence**, S. Miniato al Monte, Sacristy
Death of St. Benedict, fresco
Spinello Aretino, Florence (ca. 1350–1410)
At least two and probably more monks sing.
Photo: Alinari (Brogi 6444)
Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:204; van Marle 3:585–587; PIDT, 1:373

Florence, S. Miniato al Monte. See also Corpus 137

Florence, S. Trinità 199

Florence, Serristori Collection 285.1

Florence, Tabernacles 125, 390, 492

Florence, Uffizi 106, 268, 269, 432

Florence, Ventura Collection 107

Florence, Villa I Tatti 241

Florence, Volterra Collection 164, 322

627. **Foligno**, Palazzo Trinci
Music as one of the seven liberal arts, fresco
Umbria, early 15th century
The fresco, reproduced in SalmiAPT, is scarcely legible. Lady Music is shown playing a positive organ, and hitting a bell with a stick. SalmiAPT, p. 174, reproduces the legend: »Ly toni et voci et suprema melodia / Diptoni diapasson et semitoni / Considero Celestica Armonia / E Musici instrumenti et tucti soni.«
Photo: DonatiAA
Bibl.: DonatiAA, p. 260 (fig. 167); van Marle, 8:320–326 (fig. 205); PIDT, 2:412; SalmiAPT, pp. 147–153 (fig. 7)

628. **Foligno**, Palazzo Trinci
Dormition of the Virgin, fresco
attributed to Ottaviano Nelli, Umbria (ca. 1375–1444)
Five angels play two shawms, two trumpets, and harp. A sixth angel may play an unidentified instrument.
Photo: Alinari Pa. 2a. 5408
Bibl.: BerensonCN, 1:289; van Marle, 8:320–326; MessiniD, pp. 74–98; PIDT, 2:412; ProcacciS, pls. 45–47; SalmiAPT, pp. 139–180

629. **Foligno**, Palazzo Trinci
Assumption of the Virgin, fresco
attributed to Ottaviano Nelli, Umbria (ca. 1375–1444)
Seven angels play portative organ, shawm, bagpipe, two trumpets, harp, and lute.
Photo: Alinari Pa. 2a. 5410
Bibl.: BerensonCN, 1:287; van Marle, 8:320–326; MessiniD, pp. 74–98; PIDT, 2:412; ProcacciS, pls. 45–47; SalmiAPT, pp. 139–180

Foligno, Palazzo Trinci. See also Corpus 366

Frankfurt am Main, Ullmann Collection 346

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630. **Gaeta**, Pinacoteca
Singing angels, fragment of a detached fresco
Southern Italy, late 14th or early 15th century
Nine angels sing.
Photo: Rome, Max Hutzel
Bibl.: Gaeta Cat, pp. 32 f. (ill.)

631. **Galatina** (Puglia), S. Caterina
Death and Coronation of the Virgin, fresco
Francesco d'Arezzo and Catarino da Venezia,
early 15th century
At the Coronation, three angels play two
portative organs and psaltery.
Some angels may sing.
Photo: NugentA
Bibl.: AntonaciA (not seen); NugentA, p. 36
(pl. 108)

632. **Galatina** (Puglia), S. Caterina
S. Catherine carried to Heaven by angels,
fresco
Southern follower of Giotto
Three angels play two shawms and gittern.
Photo: Rome, Max Hutzel
Bibl.: AntonaciA (not seen)

633. **Galeata** (Forli), Museo civico
Virgin and Child, panel painting
Giottesco, ca. 1330
Two angels play shawm or recorder and lute.
Photo: TambiniP
Bibl.: TambiniP, pp. 86 f. (fig. 47)

634. **Geneva**, Musée d'art et d'histoire, no. M.F.
3831
Virgin and Child with saints and angels, panel
painting
Florence, second half of the 14th century
Two angels play psaltery and fiddle.
Photo: Museum
Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:104 (as Jacopo di Cione);
BoskovitsPF, pp. 210 and 374 (as Master of
the Ashmolean Predella)

635. **Genoa**, Cathedral
Christ and the Virgin in Glory, Christ in
Majesty, and the Last Judgment, fresco
Genoa, 13th or early 14th century
On either end, two angels play horns.
Photo: LangascoCF
Bibl.: LangascoCF, pp. 51–53 (fig. 23, as
Maestro dell'Infanzia del Battista)

Genoa, Garibaldi Collection 249

Genoa, S. Bartolomeo degli Armeni 538

Ghent, Museum voor schone Kunsten 443

Greenwich (Connecticut), Thomas Sheridan
Hyland Collection 391

Grenoble, Musée 563

Grosseto, Museo diocesano d'arte sacra 224

Grottaferrata, Contessa Senni Collection
382

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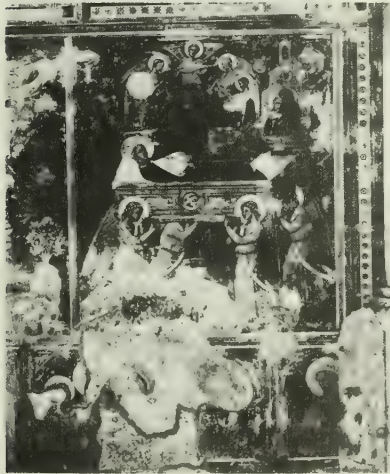
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636. **Gualdo Tadino**, Pinacoteca comunale
Coronation of the Virgin, panel painting
attributed to Matteo da Gualdo, Umbria
(15th century)
Angels play tambourine and shawm.
Photo: Alinari 21473a
Bibl.: BerensonCN, 1:375 (as Sano di Pietro)

637. **Gualdo Tadino**, S. Francesco
Dormition and Assumption of the Virgin,
badly damaged fresco
Umbria, first half of the 14th century
On the left, angels play gittern, double re-
corder, and unclear instrument (the latter two
not shown in the ill.). On the right, angels
play shawm, fiddle, and lute.
Photo: della PortaIMU
Bibl.: BoskovitsPU, p. 37; della PortaIMU,
no. 20, pp. 77f. (pl. 20)

Gubbio, Palazzo dei consoli 374

Gubbio, S. Agostino 367

Gubbio, S. Francesco 368, 369

Gubbio, S. Maria nuova 370

Hamburg, Kunsthalle 437

Hamburg, Wedells Collection 185, 437

Hannover, Niedersächsisches Landesmu-
seum 25

Hautecombe Abbey (Savoy) 283

Illasi (near Verona), Chiesa parrocchiale 502

638. **Impruneta**, Collegiata di S. Maria, Sacristy
Virgin and Child with angels, panel painting
Florence, early 15th century
Two angels play portative organ and double
recorder.
Photo: Alinari (Brogi 21330)
Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:214 (as follower of Nar-
do di Cione)

Impruneta, Collegiata di S. Maria. See also
Corpus 151, 152, 153, 154, 302

639. **Irsina**, S. Francesco, Crypt
Coronation of the Virgin, fresco
Southern Italy
Seven angels play shawm (or double recor-
der), fiddle (or bowed gittern or cittern),
double recorder, rebec, lute, psaltery, and
bagpipe.
Photo: NugentA
Bibl.: NugentA, especially pp. 22–32 (pls. 8,
33, 34, 37–40)

640. **Irsina**, S. Francesco, Crypt
Prophets, fresco
Southern Italy
A series of medallions include David playing
a psaltery.
Photo: NugentA
Bibl.: NugentA, especially pp. 22–32 (fig.
77a)

Kansas City (Missouri), W. R. Nelson and
M. Atkins Museum 392

Karlstein (Czechoslovakia) 524

Konopiste Castle (Czechoslovakia) 423

641. **Kreuzlingen** (Switzerland), H. Kisters Col-
lection
Virgin and Child with saints and angels, panel
painting
Bicci di Lorenzo, Florence (1373–1452)
An angel plays a fiddle.
Photo: Kisters Collection
Bibl.: none

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642. **Kreuzlingen** (Switzerland), H. Kisters Collection
Virgin and Child with angels, panel painting
Siena
Two angels play lute and fiddle.
Photo: Kisters Collection
Bibl.: BerensonCN, 1:37

Kreuzlingen (Switzerland), H. Kisters Collection. See also Corpus 136

643. **L'Aquila**, Museo nazionale d'Abruzzo
Saint Catherine before the Emperor Maxentius, panel painting
Umbria or Abruzzi
On a balcony, musicians hold or play gittern, fiddle (or bowed gittern), four trumpets, pipe and tabor, tambourine, and shawm.
Photo: Soprintendenza per i B. A. A. A. e S. per l'Abruzzo
Bibl.: BrownATA; MorettiLAquila Cat, p. 27 (ill.); PIDT, 2:406f.

644. **L'Aquila**, Museo nazionale d'Abruzzo
Nativity and Annunciation to the shepherds, side panel of a triptych
Abruzzi, early 15th century
A shepherd plays a bagpipe.
Photo: MorettiLAquila Cat
Bibl.: van Marle 8, pp. 452f.; MorettiLAquila Cat, pp. 44f. (ill.)

645. **L'Aquila**, S. Silvestro
Virgin and Child with angels, fresco, ca. 1412
Abruzzi, 15th century
On the left, three angels play lute, tambourine, and fiddle; on the right, three angels play fanciful harp (or lyre), fiddle, and gittern.
Photo: Soprintendenza per i B. A. A. A. e S. per l'Abruzzo
Bibl.: ChiericiA, pp. 111–128 (figs. 5, 6, 11, 13, and 15)

646. **La Valletta** (Malta), Museo nazionale
Last Judgment, panel painting
Tuscany (?), first half of the 14th century
Two angels play trumpets.
Photo: ZeriU
Bibl.: ZeriU, pp. 325–331 (fig. 1)

647. **Lamporecchio** (near Pistoia), S. Maria
Angel musicians, fresco
Pistoia
One angel plays lute, and the other may sing.
Photo: Lamporecchio, Foto Fedele
Bibl.: none

Laon, Musée 559

Lecceto (near Siena), Portico della Facciata 421

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648. **Legnago**, Oratorio della Disciplina
Virgin and Child with God the Father and angels, panel painting
attributed to Ranuccio Arvari, Verona (late 14th, early 15th century)
One angel on either side of the Virgin holds a music scroll, while the other angels sing. In the upper left, three angels play shawm and two tambourines. In the upper right, five angels play two tambourines, portative organ, and two trumpets. Other angels may originally have played various instruments.
Photo: CuppiniA
Bibl.: CuppiniA, pp. 328–332 (fig. 75)

649. **Leningrad**, Hermitage, no. 6643
Virgin and Child with saints and angels, central panel of a polyptych, 1380s
attributed to Giovanni di Bartolomeo Cristiani, Florence (documented 1366–1398)
Two angels play rebecs.
Photo: KustodievaSP
Bibl.: KustodievaSP, pp. 3–5 (fig. 1)

Leningrad, Hermitage. See also Corpus 276.1, 307

Lewisburg (Pennsylvania), Bucknell University Study Collection 485

650. **Licata**, Palazzo del municipio (formerly in the Orfanotrofio della Chiesa del Carmine)
Virgin and Child with saints and angels
Southern Italy, early 15th century
Two angels play trumpets (or shawms).
Photo: BottariPQ
Bibl.: BottariPQ, p. 79 (fig. 51, as Maestro di S. Martino)

Liége, Musée diocésain 144

Liverpool, Walker Art Gallery 185

Livorno, Larderel Collection 246, 393, 413

Locko Park, J. Parke Collection 412

651. **Lodi**, S. Francesco
The funeral of Antonio Fissiraga, fresco
Lombardy, 1327
At the head of the body, on the right, one man sings from a book in which musical notation is visible.
Photo: ToescaPML
Bibl.: PIDT, 1:52; ToescaPML, pp. 182 f. (fig. 130)

London, Agnew Collection 360

London, Christies 156, 375, 499

London, Courtauld Institute Art Gallery 270

London, Hatton Garden Church 286

652. **London**, National Gallery, no. 4250
St. Joachim and the angel, panel from an altarpiece
probably Venice, end of the 14th century
In the background, on the right, a shepherd plays a curved bladder pipe.
Photo: Museum
Bibl.: LondonNG Cat, pp. 549–552

London, National Gallery. See also Corpus 34, 155, 207, 242, 243, 244, 245, 271, 378

London, Oppenheimer Collection 347

London, private collection 493

London, Sothebys 161, 216

London, Straus Collection 93

London, Viscount Rothermere Collection 394, 494

London, Viscountess d'Abernon Collection 406

Longleat, Marquess of Bath Collection 94

653. **Loreto** (near Aprutino), S. Maria in Piano
Last Judgment, fresco
Abruzzi, late 14th century
On the left, two angels play trumpets; beneath them, four angels play lute, gittern, and two rebecs. The right side of the fresco is destroyed. It may once have included other musicians.
Photo: New York, Frick Art Reference Library 25225
Bibl.: van Marle, 5:272–274; RossiS, p. 218

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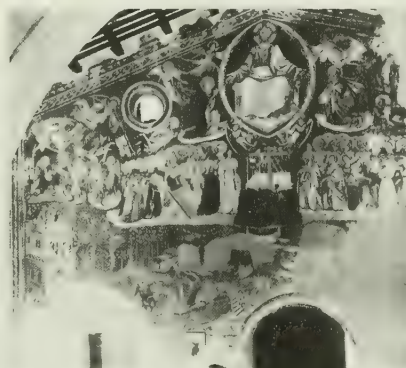
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654. **Loreto** (near Aprutino), S. Maria in Piano
Coronation of the Virgin, fresco
Abruzzi, late 14th century
Two angels play lute and rebec.
Photo: New York, Frick Art Reference Library 25230
Bibl.: van Marle, 5:272–274; RossiS, p. 218

Los Angeles, County Museum of Art 444

Lucca, Conte Cenami-Spada Collection 445

Lucerne, Fischer Collection 123

Lucignano (Val di Chiana), S. Francesco 42

Lugano-Castagnola, Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection 77, 470

Luxembourg, Musée d'Histoire et d'Art 452

Madrid, Prado 200

Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 78

Manchester, Barlow Collection 329

655. formerly **Mantova**, S. Francesco, Cappella di S. Bernardino
The Ordination of St. Francis, panel of a now destroyed series of frescoes showing the life of St. Francis, after 1368
attributed to Tomaso da Modena, Modena and Treviso (1325/26–1379)
On the right, two monks sing from a choirbook.
Photo: ColettiTM
Bibl.: BerensonCN, 1:428; ColettiTM, p. 123 (fig. 110, after D'ArcoA); van Marle 4:265

656. **Masnago** (Varese), Castello Castiglioni
Courtly scenes, fresco
Lombardy, ca. 1450
Lady sitting within a tent plays portative organ.
Photo: MazziniAL
Bibl.: MazziniAL, no. 55 (pl. 55)

Massa Marittima, Municipio 257

Mezzaratta, S. Apollonia 544

657. **Milan**, Casa Borromeo
Lutenist, fragment of a fresco
Lombardy
One man plays a lute. Some frescoes there may also depict dancing.
Photo: ToescaPML
Bibl.: ToescaPML, p. 516 (fig. 417)

Milan, Chiesa Collection 184

658. **Milan**, Commi-Bassi Collection (in 1954)
Coronation of the Virgin, central panel of a triptych
Siena
Four angels play portative organ, recorder, lute, and fiddle.
Photo: Florence, Fototeca Berenson
Bibl.: none

Milan, Crespi Collection 422

Milan, Finarte sale 194

Milan, Galleria Levi 246

Milan, Pasquinelli Collection 418

659. **Milan**, Pinacoteca Brera, no. 980
Count Porro and his family offering a model of the oratorio at Mocchirolo to the Virgin Mary, panel painting
Lombardy, ca. 1365
On the right, two angels play lute and gittern.
Photo: Museum
Bibl.: BrownSA, pl. 16; ColettiP, 3:lxiii (fig. 120); van Marle, 4:249 (fig. 124); MatalonAT, no. 20, pp. 36–38; Milan Brera Cat, p. 20; ToescaPML, p. 253 (fig. 190)

Milan, Pinacoteca Brera. See also Corpus 280, 382, 425, 503

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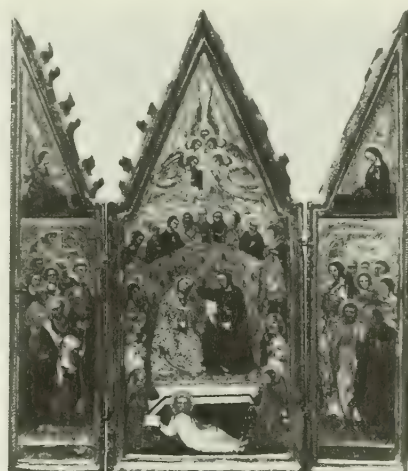
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660. **Milan**, private collection
The resurrection of S. John the Evangelist, panel
painting
Arezzo, ca. 1350
On the left, at least two men sing from a music
book, and two boys may also sing.
Photo: BolognaNG
Bibl.: BolognaNG, pp. 106–108 (fig. 98)

661. **Milan**, private collection
Feast of Herod, a panel from a dossal with the
story of St. John the Baptist
Venetian-Byzantine, early 14th century
Salome dances while one person plays a tambou-
rine. A legend reads: »IC CANTAVIT PUEL-
LA CORAM HERODEM.«
Photo: CinottiM
Bibl.: CinottiM, pp. 10–12 (ill.); GarrisonIRP,
no. 613

662. **Milan**, private collection
Last Judgment, panel of a polyptych
Marches, ca. 1340–1350
Two angels play trumpets.
Photo: BoskovitsDI
Bibl.: BoskovitsDI, pp. 12–15 (ill.)

663. **Milan**, private collection
Coronation of the Virgin, panel painting
Florence, last third of the 14th century
Four angels play shawm, tambourine, double
recorder, and psaltery.
Photo: BoskovitsDI
Bibl.: BoskovitsDI, pp. 26 f. (ill.)

Milan, private collections. See also Corpus 4,
85, 123

664. **Minneapolis** Institute of Arts, no. 68.41.6
Nativity with the adoration of the kings,
panel painting
Italo-Byzantine, early 15th century
A shepherd plays a shawm.
Photo: Museum
Bibl.: Minneapolis Cat, pp. 381 f. (fig. 202)

Minneapolis Institute of Arts. See also Cor-
pus 286

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663.

661.
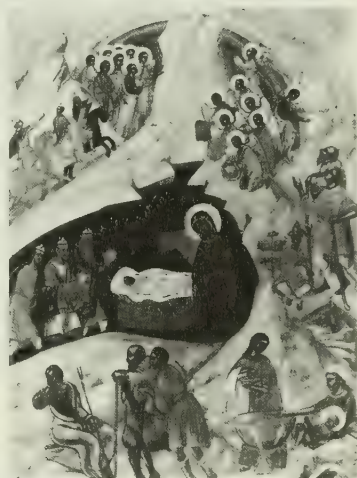
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665 a–b. **Minturno**, formerly Chiesa della SS. Annunciata, sacristy
St. Cecilia and angel musicians, two detached fresco panels
Campagna
In one panel (a), at least five angels play two shawms, portative organ, fiddle, and lute. In the other panel (b), at least five angels play two double recorders, psaltery, portative organ, and rebec.
Photo: New York, Frick Art Reference Library 23937 and 24936
Bibl.: BerensonCN, 1:441; BolognaPCA, p. 280; Gaeta Cat, pp. 28 f. (ill., as maniera di Maso di Banco)

Modena Cathedral 473

Modena, Pinacoteca 474

Montalcino, Museo civico 43, 460

Montalcino, S. Pietro 460

Monte Oliveto (near San Gimignano), S. Maria Assunta 521

Monte Siepi ,Cappella di San Galgano 386

666. **Montecossaro Scalo**, Santa Maria a Pie di Christi
Adoration of the Magi, fresco
Bolognese painter working in the Marches
One shepherd plays a bagpipe.
Photo: RossiS
Bibl.: van Marle, 5:198; RossiS, p. 17 (fig. 25)

Montefalco, S. Agostino 429

Montepulciano, Cathedral 510, 511

Montepulciano, Museo civico 441

Montreal Museum of Fine Arts 157

Moscow, Pushkin Museum 95

Moulins, Musée 561

Muncie (Indiana), Ball State University Art Gallery 304. The credit line for no. 304 should read:
Master of the Bracciolini Chapel (active late 14th–early 15th century) Italy, Tuscany, Pistoia

Coronation of the Virgin, late 14th century
Muncie (Indiana), Ball State University Art Gallery, no. 40.33, tempera on wood panel
95 × 61.7 cm; 40 ⅛ × 24 ¼ inches
Gift of Mr. & Mrs. William H. Thompson

I apologize for the fact that this information was inadvertently garbled in Corpus Part I, Instalment 2.

667. **Munich**, Alte Pinakothek, Depot, inv. no. 646 (1659)
God the Father with angels, panel painting
Florence, ca. 1400
Among the angels surrounding God, two play fiddle and lute, and others may play instruments.
Photo: Museum
Bibl.: not in Munich Cat 1975

Munich, Alte Pinakothek. See also Corpus 323, 350, 495

668. formerly in **Munich**, Helbing Collection (sold at auction, 3–4 May 1933)
Assumption of the Virgin, panel painting attributed by Berenson to Luca di Tommè, Umbria (ca. 1400), and to Giovanni di Conaduccio (flourished ca. 1400)
Two angels play fiddle and lute.
Photo: London, Courtauld Institute of Art, Witt Library
Bibl.: Florence, Fototeca Berenson

Murcia, Cathedral 35

669. **Murlo**, S. Michele Arcangelo a Montepertuso
Assumption, panel painting
attributed to Andrea di Niccolò, Siena (recorded from 1470–1512)
On the left, three angels play a large fiddle, a small fiddle, and nakers. On the right, three angels play tambourine, cymbals, and lute.
Photo: Siena, Foto Grassi
Bibl.: BerensonCN, 1:10 (as Andrea di Niccolò in Montepertuso); Florence, Fototeca Berenson
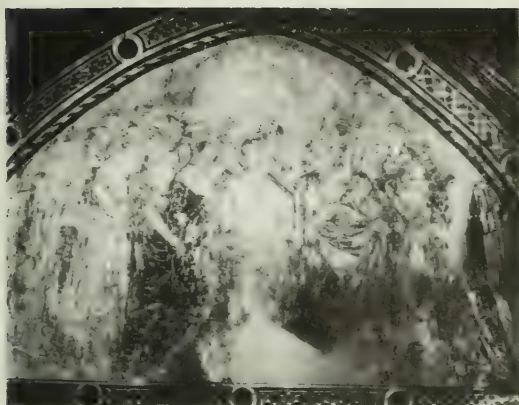
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665. b
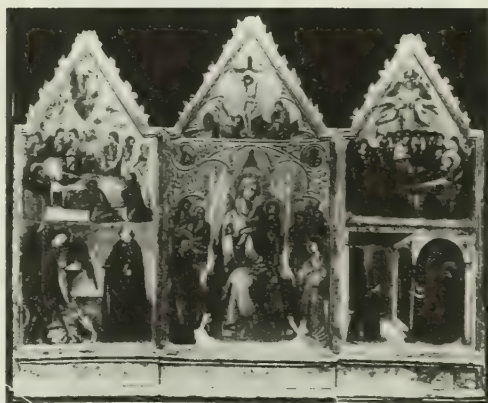
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670. **Naples**, Cathedral
Tree of Jesse, fresco
Lello da Orvieto
David plays a psaltery.
Photo: PIDT
Bibl.: PIDT, 2:485 (fig. 751)

Naples, Museo di Capodimonte. See Naples, Museo di S. Martino

671. **Naples**, Museo di S. Martino
Assumption of the Virgin, panel painting
Masolino da Panicale, Florence (1384–1435)
Four angels play lute, portative organ, fiddle, and psaltery.
Photo: MichelettiM
Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:137 (pl. 562); MichelettiM, p. 52 (pl. 42); ToescaM, p. 147 (ill.)

Naples, Museo di S. Martino (Museo di Capodimonte). See also Corpus 295, 395

Naples, Pinacoteca, Gabinetto disegni e stampe 479

Naples, S. Lorenzo 447

672. **Naples**, S. Maria di Donna Regina
Scenes of the Apocalypse, fresco
Naples, early 14th century
On the right, seven angels play trumpets; on the left, one angel plays a trumpet.
Photo: MorisaniO
Bibl.: MorisaniO, p. 42 (pl. 44); PIDT, 2:483 (fig. 747)

Naples, S. Maria di Donna Regina. See also Corpus 71, 72, 73, 74

673. **Naples**, S. Maria Incoronata, Cappella della Crocifisso
Saint Ladislaus enters the church to be crowned king, fresco
Maestro delle storie di San Ladislao d'Ungheria, Naples (ca. 1403–1414)
In the middle of the picture, four (or five) monks sing from a music book. On the right, three more monks sing from a music book. Other people in the crowd may also sing.
Photo: BolognaPCA
Bibl.: BolognaPCA, pp. 346–349 (pls. VIII–6, 7, 9, 10, and 11)

Naples, S. Maria Incoronata. See also Corpus 448, 449

674. **Naples**, S. Monica
Virgin and Child with saints and angels
Maestro di Antonio e Onofrio Penna, Naples (ca. 1410)
One angel plays a harp.
Photo: BolognaPCA
Bibl.: BolognaPCA, p. 345 (pls. XXXIII and fig. VIII–21)

675. **Naturno**, S. Procolo
Coronation of the Virgin, fresco
Tyrol, early 15th century
Angels may play lute and gittern (= unclear instruments, since the fresco is so damaged).
Photo: New York, Frick Art Reference Library 25443
Bibl.: KleebergWM (not seen); RasmoAM, pp. 237 f.
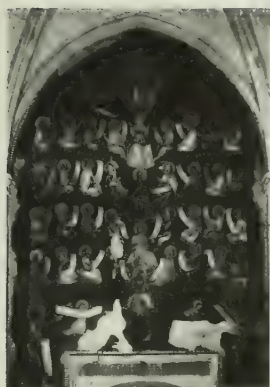
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672.
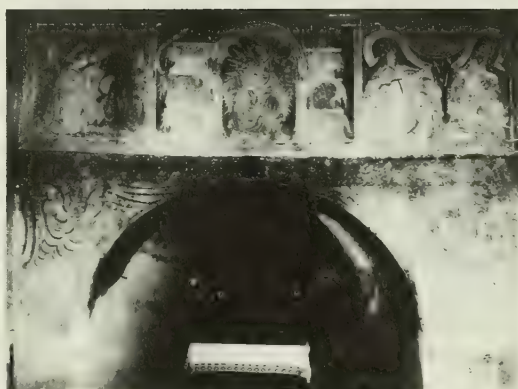
675.

676. **New Haven**, Yale University Art Gallery,
no. 1871.22
Virgin and Child with saints and angels,
central panel of a polyptych
Florence, ca. 1420
Two angels play lute and fiddle.
Photo: Museum
Bibl.: BerensonF 1:219; HessI, no. 70b;
Seymour Yale Cat, pp. 112–114 (fig. 77, as
Pseudo Ambrogio di Baldese and assistant)

New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery.
See also Corpus 96, 186, 201, 237, 253, 284,
461

New York, van Diemen-Lilienfeld Gallery
408

New York, Frick Collection 427

677. **New York**, Historical Society, The Bryan
Collection, no. 1867.18
Birth of a child, desco da parto, 1428
attributed to Bartolomeo di Fruosino, Flor-
ence (1366–1441)
At home, a lady plays a harp to her child.
Photo: Museum
Bibl.: AntalFP, p. 298 (pl. 145); BerensonF,
1:219; Pope-HennessySP, p. 10 (figs. 4 and
5); SchubringC, p. 299 (pl. 145)

New York Historical Society. See also Cor-
pus 328

New York, Hurd Collection 36

678. formerly in **New York**, Kress Collection
Virgin and Child with saints and angels
Lombardy, early 15th century
Two angels play trumpets. St. Anthony Ab-
bot holds a small handbell.
Photo: MilanAL
Bibl.: dell'AcquaAL, no. 196; MilanAL, p.
53 (pl. XX); ToescaPML, p. 556f. (fig. 459)

New York, Herbert Lehman Collection 340

New York, Philip Lehman Collection 444

679. **New York**, Metropolitan Museum of Art,
07.120.1
Charles of Durazzo enters the city of Naples
in 1407, panel from a cassone
South Italy, early 15th century
A number of soldiers play trumpets.
Photo: Museum
Bibl.: BolognaPCA, pl. VIII–3 (as Maestro
della Presa di Taranto); New York Met Cat
1:96 (as unknown south Italian painter)

680. **New York**, Metropolitan Museum of Art, no.
19.76.2 (Hewitt Fund, 1917)
Navicella, drawing of a mosaic by Giotto (see
Corpus 181 and 597)
Parri Spinelli, Arezzo (ca. 1387–1453)
A wind god blows a horn.
Photo: Museum
Bibl.: BaltimoreIS, pp. 33f. (pl. XXXIV)

681. **New York**, Metropolitan Museum of Art, no.
41.190.31a–c
Nativity, left panel of a triptych (the central
panel of which shows the Crucifixion)
Siena, first quarter of the 14th century
One shepherd holds a bagpipe.
Photo: Museum
Bibl.: New York Met Cat, 1:120 (ill. in 2:50,
as Master of Monte Oliveto and unknown
Sienese painter)

676.

679.

677.
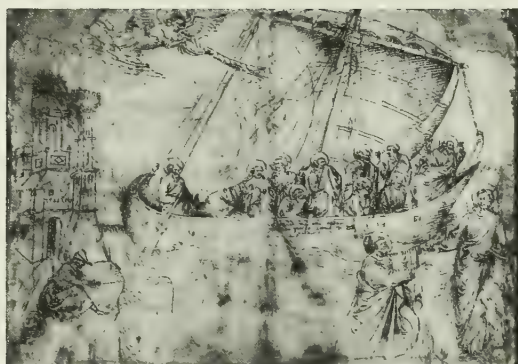
680.

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682. **New York**, Metropolitan Museum of Art, no. 50.229.2
Coronation of the Virgin, central panel of a triptych
Florence, 1394, commissioned by Alderotto Brunelleschi
Two angels play fanciful fiddle held upright and fiddle.
Photo: Museum
Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:105; BerensonH, p. 95 (pl. 143, as Jacopo di Cione); BoskovitsPF, p. 361 (fig. 139a, as Master of the Madonna of 1399); New York Met Cat, 1:91f. (ill., as unknown Florentine painter); Offner Suppl, p. 59 (as Metropolitan Master of 1394)

683. **New York**, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Robert Lehman Collection, no. 1975.1.99
Last Judgment, top panel of polyptych
Marches, ca. 1300
Two angels play trumpets.
Photo: Museum
Bibl.: van Marle, 4:288 (fig. 146); MedeaISR, p. 9 (fig. 4); New York MetMA, no. 11 (ill.); Offner III/II/1, p. 45 (pl. 19; as Master of the Biadaiolo Illuminations)

684. **New York**, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Robert Lehman Collection
Last Judgment, drawing
attributed to Ottaviano Nelli, Umbria (ca. 1375–1444)
Four angels play trumpets.
Photo: Museum
Bibl.: DegenhartCIZ, I/2, no. 256 (pl. 269); Gernsheim 3820; SzaboMID, no. 5 (fig. 5)

New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. See also Corpus 38, 44, 173, 272, 278, 314, 379, 469, 486

685. **New York**, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS II, 2 (see introduction)
Artist's model book, drawings
Lombardy, third quarter of the 14th century

a. fol. 5: one man plays double horn.

b. fol. 8: a hunter blows a hunting horn.

c. fol. 9': a grotesque holds a bagpipe.

682.
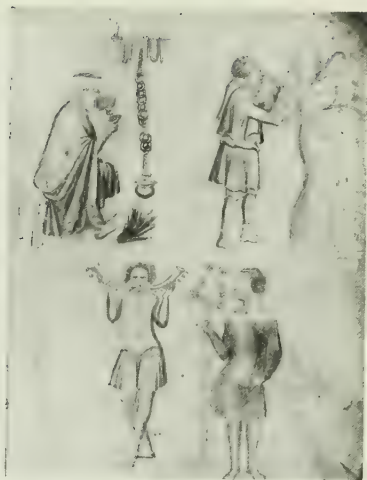
685. a

683.

685. b

684.
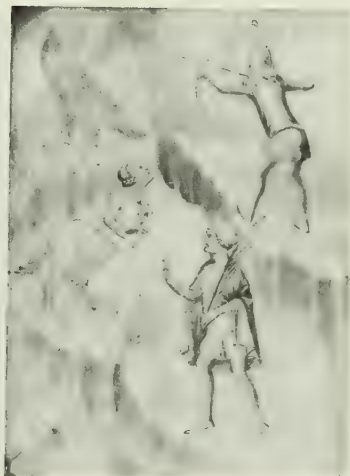
685. c

d. fol. 10: a grotesque plays a horn, and another a rebec (or bowed gittern).

e. fol. 11: one person (in a feathered headdress) plays a bladder pipe, and another a bagpipe.

f. fol. 12: a hunter blows a hunting horn.

g. fol. 12': a woman plays a psaltery and a man a lute.

h. fol. 13: two couples dance and a man accompanies them on a lute.

i. fol. 13': a woman plays a tambourine, and a man plays a pipe and tabor accompanying a female acrobat.

j. fol. 15': four separate figures (including clerics) play psaltery, rebec, double recorder, and an unclear wind instrument (an apparently conical tube blown through a bocal).

Photo: Museum
Bibl.: BaltimoreIS, pp. 14f. (pl. XXXIX); Bellosi-AD, pp. 15–20 (figs. 45 and 48, as Tommaso da Modena); DegenhartCIZ I/1, no. 86, pls. 124a, b, d, and e; KommaM, p. 59 (fig. 140); SchellerSM, pp. 137–141 (fig. 96)

685. d

685. g

685. e
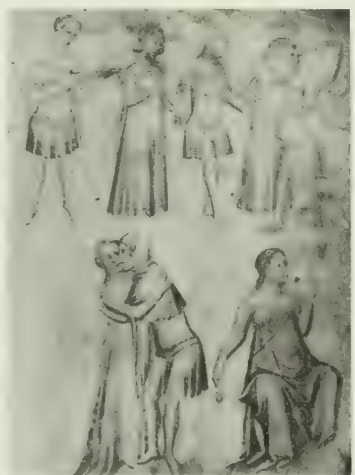
685. h

685. f

685. i

685. j

686. **New York**, Janos Scholz Collection
Figures and decorative elements, drawing
Tuscany, third quarter of the 14th century
A grotesque bows a jawbone.
Photo: New York MetMA
Bibl.: BaltimoreIS, p. 36 (pl. XXXVIII);
DegenhartCIZ I/1, no. 27 (pl. 52d); New
York MetMA, no. 16 (ill.)

New York, Wildenstein Collection 287

687. **Norcia**, S. Maria
Wedding of the Virgin, panel painting
Umbria, late 14th or early 15th century
On the left, a man plays a trumpet; on the
right, a man plays a lute.
Photo: Florence, Fototeca Berenson

Novoli (near Florence), Chiesa di Mater Dei
377

Offida (near Ascoli Piceno), S. Maria della
Rocca 14, 15, 16

688 a–b. **Orvieto**, Cathedral
Coronation of the Virgin, intarsia
Orvieto, first half of the 14th century
Eight angels play four trumpets, psaltery,
double recorder, gittern, and triangle.
Photo: della PortaIMU 1985
Bibl.: della PortaIMU 1985, pp. 115–117 (pl.
43); Garzelli Orvieto Cat, pp. 47–49 (figs.
103, 106, and 107); HammersteinME, p. 293
(pl. 92)

689. **Orvieto**, Cathedral, inv. no. Q2
Façade of Orvieto Cathedral, drawing
Siena, ca. 1310
An angel plays a trumpet.
Photo: della PortaIMU 1985
Bibl.: DegenhartCIZ I/1, no. 11, pl. 26b;
della PortaIMU 1985, pp. 113f. (pl. 42)

Orvieto, Cathedral. See also Corpus 533, 534
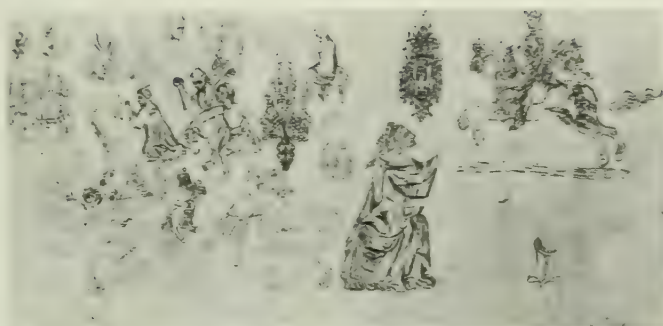
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688. a

687.

688. b
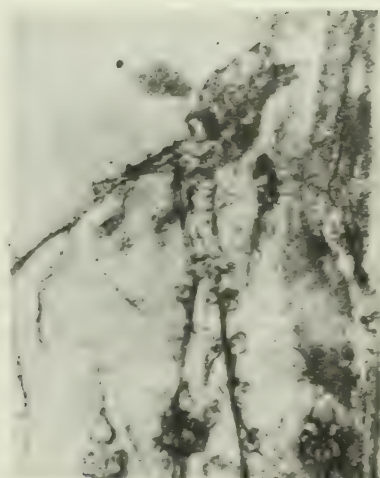
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This is the first time that we use a bibliographic computer software, which makes it easier to maintain a consistent format and to index the items. I am very grateful for the collaboration of Dr. Monika Holl (Munich) and Terence Ford (New York), as well as my assistants at Duke University Mark Davidson and Janet Page. The number of authors who have sent me bibliographic references, off-prints, and publications has increased; I thank them very much for their help and generosity.

T. S.

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Tilman Seebaß
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Imago Musicae
Annuaire international d'iconographie musicale

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